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TREASURES FROM MEDIEVAL FRANCE

BY
JOHN WILKINSON

TREASURES FROM MEDIEVAL FRANCE

BY WILLIAM D. WIXOM

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CONTENTS

- xi Preface by Sherman E. Lee
- xv Acknowledgments
- xix Lenders to the Exhibition
- 1 Introduction
- 11 Chapter I Merovingian Inheritance and Carolingian Experiment
- 21 Chapter II Proto-Romanesque, Assimilations, and Monumental Art
- 45 Chapter III Monuments of Romanesque Art and the First Gothic Vision
- 123 Chapter IV High Gothic Synthesis and the New Monumental Art
- 167 Chapter V Beginnings of Courtly Art
- 217 Chapter VI International Style
- 293 Chapter VII Late Gothic Art
- 347 Catalogue
- 387 Index

PREFACE

Like man, art reproduces itself. The inspiration for any work of art, whether a painting or a pot, whether an assemblage or an exhibition, lies in another work of art. As M. Malraux has it, paintings of sunsets, not sunsets, provide the initial impetus for more advanced, or just different, paintings of sunsets. Thanks to the generous aid and cooperation of hundreds of persons dedicated to the preservation and study of art, a work of art destined for but ten weeks of life has been created—Treasures from Medieval France.

The origins of this exhibition are to be found in two other assemblages of medieval art. The first was the monumental exhibition, *Cathédrales*, held in 1962 at the Louvre. Conceived and arranged by Pierre Pradel, Chief Curator of Sculpture at the Louvre, *Cathédrales* was an artful and logical evocation of French medieval art made possible by the sensitive selection and display of fragments, monumental and miniature, selected for their high quality and profound significance. It was a deeply moving sequence and unity, one of the very greatest exhibitions I have ever seen. Not to desire its preservation or re-creation would have been unthinkable.

The second inspiration was the assemblage of medieval art, especially the decorative arts, in our own museum. This was the creation of my predecessor William M. Milliken, one of the great art museum directors, an unfailingly successful connoisseur of objects, and particularly a dedicated medievalist. With such magnificent French objects as the Limoges Cross from the Spitzer collection (cat. no. III-31), the Christ Medallion from the Guelph Treasure (cat. no. I-1), the unique Table Fountain (cat. no. VI-18), and the School of Paris panel of the Annunciation (cat. no. VI-14), among many others in our collection, it seemed only fitting that these should provide the *raison d'être* for an exhibition celebrating the golden anniversary of The Cleveland Museum of Art.

The idea of an exhibition of French medieval art was thus conceived some four years ago. The sobering prospect of the arduous labors involved in mounting such a display was made more hopeful by the knowledge that we had numerous friends and colleagues in France who might be favorably disposed to such a project because of our proven dedication to its subject and because its conception and plan were worthy of the effort and dangers involved. The first general discussions

in Paris with the two colleagues to whom we are most indebted—Jacques Dupont, Inspector General of Historic Monuments, and Hubert Landais, Chief Curator of Decorative Arts, Musée du Louvre, and Adjunct Director of the Museums of France—were most encouraging in principle, and a tentative decision to proceed followed from these friendly discussions. This decision was made final after we received the gracious approval of the Ministries of Culture and Education. André Malraux, Minister of Culture, and particularly his Secretary General for Cultural Affairs, Jacques Jaujard, have been and are helpful patrons of this manifestation of French medieval art. Without the approval of Christian Fouchet, Minister of Education, the magnificent loan of manuscripts from the Bibliothèque Nationale and some other libraries would hardly have been possible. The late James J. Rorimer, Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, whose lasting achievement is that unique medieval monument and collection, the Cloisters, encouraged us from this side of the Atlantic and with his unstinted co-operation insured that the American representation would be qualitatively equal to that provided by France.

The results are now visible in the exhibition and reflected in the catalogue. What cannot be visible, save in the imagination of the visitor and in the memories of all who participated in this exhibition, the largest and most complicated ever to be undertaken by this museum, is the succeeding three years of constant travel, negotiation, correspondence, and study, trying the patience and energies of all concerned. Thanks to all is hardly enough, but here it is proffered, humbly, in friendship, and with a renewed understanding of what the phrase "a community of scholars" really means.

A specific mention of all those who contributed so much to the exhibition will be found in the appended lists following this preface. Particular expressions of gratitude are due to those in France who were deeply involved in the project: Jean Chatelain, Etienne Dennery, Pierre Pradel, Pierre Quoniam, Francis Salet, Pierre Verlet, Marcel Thomas, Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, R. Maître-Devallon, and Bertrand Jestaz. We are also most grateful to Raymond Lanepce for his many excellent photographs of French-owned objects.

In America we owe special thanks to Frederick B. Adams Jr., Richard H. Randall, John Walker, Rémy G. Saisselin, and Dorothy E. Miner. Almost all of the personnel of The Cleveland Museum of Art have been, are, or will be involved in the various aspects of the exhibition—mechanical, educational, and curatorial. Those named in the following lists have been particularly helpful, but special mention should be made of, and additional thanks given to Merald E. Wrolstad, William E. Ward, Lillian M. Kern, Richard F. Godfrey, Judith Conrad, and Frances Saha.

I cannot close this preface without noting a very particular administrative aspect of Treasures from Medieval France. The exhibition is the result of the close and friendly cooperation between a private educational institution, The Cleveland Museum of Art, and a great nation, France. Surely this confirms the continued vitality of the concepts of diversity and individuality in a modern age often described as monolithic and inhuman. Responsibility for scholarly and artistic excellence rests with all—from individuals, through boards, foundations, governmental units, to the state. The Museum's Board of Trustees has supported and encouraged the staff in this monumental undertaking, and thanks are due and are gratefully given. Another large debt of gratitude is due to the Trustees of The John L. Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust, who have provided the not-inconsiderable funds necessary for the exhibition and its catalogue. Finally, I wish to thank and congratulate William Wixom, the responsible curator, for the splendid scholarly and artistic achievement to be seen in the exhibition and to be remembered through this catalogue.

SHERMAN E. LEE, *Director*

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Dijon (Côte-d'Or), Musée des Beaux-Arts
Musée des Antiquités de la Côte-d'Or
Gueret (Creuse), Musée archéologique
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Poitiers (Vienne), Musées municipaux
Rouen (Seine-Maritime), Musée des Antiquités de la Seine-Maritime
Saint-Omer (Pas-de-Calais), Musée municipal
Senlis (Oise), Musée du Haubergier
Strasbourg (Bas-Rhin), Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre Dame
Toulouse (Haute-Garonne), Musée des Augustins
Verdun (Meuse), Musée archéologique

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Cambrai (Nord), Bibliothèque municipale
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Grandrif (Puy-de-Dôme), Eglise
Janville (Oise), Eglise
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INTRODUCTION

Initially conceived in 1962 as part of the 1966–1967 fiftieth anniversary celebrations of The Cleveland Museum of Art, the present exhibition has fulfilled all early hopes that it would be possible to assemble a select company of about one hundred and fifty French art objects dating from the Merovingian era through the end of the late Gothic period. Major loans from French museums, libraries, churches, and cathedrals have been made possible through stringent safety measures and because the exhibition is not a traveling one, the only showing being restricted to Cleveland. The French loans are supplemented by a nearly equal number of outstanding objects from collections in the United States and from one private collection in Canada. All media are represented, including stone and wood sculpture, metalwork, enamel, ivory, manuscript illumination, panel painting, embroidery, and tapestry.

Several overlapping purposes were kept in mind in choosing objects from so vast a panorama of French medieval art. Artistic quality was the primary selective factor, together with that of the potential availability and the physical sturdiness of each object considered. However, it was clear from the beginning that no claim could be made for equal artistic value of the exhibits; apples could not be said to be equal to pears. It was also hoped that many objects would be complete masterpieces in themselves, having withstood fairly well the vicissitudes of time, fire, water and revolution. In this group of the final selections are the twelfth-century Châsse from Bellac (III–1),¹ the Recumbent Tomb Figure of a Knight from Philadelphia (iv–13), a Portable Altar dated 1273 from Narbonne (iv–25), the ivory Virgin from Sainte-Chapelle from the Louvre (v–7), the ivory Virgin Suckling the Christ Child from Rouen (v–10), Cleveland's own late fourteenth-century Table Fountain (vi–18), and the drawing depicting an ecclesiastic by Fouquet lent from the Metropolitan Museum (vii–8), as well as many other works. Also, a substantial number of the illuminated manuscripts may be considered complete works or nearly so, as in the case of the Romanesque Corbie Gospels from Amiens (ii–11), Cleveland's Gotha Missal (vi–3), the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (v–15) and the Belles Heures (vi–28), both lent

¹ All Roman numerals in parentheses refer to the chapter number; the Arabic numerals are the catalogue numbers within that chapter.

from the Metropolitan Cloisters collection, and the Boucicaut Hours (vi-29) and Rohan Hours (vi-33), both lent from Paris. Panel paintings are taken only from the Cleveland Museum's own collection, and these also are remarkably intact: the Sachs Annunciation panel of circa 1390 (vi-14), the Calvary with a Carthusian Monk by Jean de Beaumetz (vi-12), and the late fifteenth-century Burgundian Portrait of a Nobleman (vii-21).

Not all of the objects could be so complete, and many were considered which were precious and evocative fragments ripped from their original surroundings. The final choice in this category included Romanesque capitals from Poitiers, Avignon, and Vézelay (ii-4; iii-6,11); the stone relief figures from Toulouse, Cluny, and Autun (iii-4,8,9,10); the columnar figures from Cambrai and Châlons-sur-Marne (iii-23,27); and a series of stone heads from portal sculptures at Saint-Denis, Saint Bénigne at Dijon, Mantes, Notre-Dame at Paris, Senlis, Strasbourg, and Reims (iii-14,16,37,25; iv-1,3,9,11). Also included are manuscript fragments, such as the monumental Saint Luke miniature from a late eleventh-century Bible painted at Cluny, and an exquisite miniature by Fouquet excerpted from the Hours of Etienne Chevalier (ii-7; vii-4). Larger sculptural groups are occasionally represented by single sculptures, all that was preserved of the larger composition, as in a handsome painted wood Angel from Janville, once part of an Annunciation group, and as in an expressive Fainting Virgin Group from Louviers, once part of a larger Crucifixion group (v-6; vi-13).

From the very beginning of the selection process in preparing the exhibition it was realized that some objects would of necessity be extremely well known from their bibliographies, their positions in the permanent public collections of which they are a part, and the fact that they have appeared repeatedly in earlier exhibitions. The monumental Romanesque Relief of the Sign of the Lion and the Ram from Toulouse (iii-4), the ivory Virgin from Sainte-Chapelle (v-7), or the Cerfs Volants tapestry (vi-36) are examples. Other objects familiar in the literature have never been lent to an exhibition before, as for example, the Chalice of Abbot Suger from the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. (iii-13). In addition to such works, space is also given to a large group of other items which have not been widely shown and are not well known either to the public or to the scholarly world. Included in this group are such pieces as the twelfth-century stone Head from Limoges (iii-29), the embroidered panel, possibly the cover for a corporal case, from the treasury at Lyon (iv-19), a refined wood Virgin and Child group of the thirteenth century from Grandrif (v-8), two rare manuscripts from the south of France (vi-5,6), a powerful but small gilt-bronze Prophet of circa 1400 (vi-20), a monumental Burgundian mid-fifteenth-century limestone Saint Christopher (vii-1), a barely known tapestry with the story of

Saint Eloi from Beaune (vii–16), and a refined Champagne early sixteenth-century silver-gilt Madonna and Child (vii–18).

However, the main emphasis of the exhibition, after the determining factor of artistic quality, is in reality an attempt at a balanced and selective presentation of the history of style. The chapters of this catalogue are so divided and the individual monuments are intended secondarily to suggest major developments in style. The Guelph Christ Medallion stands as the only example of Merovingian interests (i–1). The Carolingian renaissance and its revival of the "antique" is illustrated in three works: the Reims Psalter from Troyes Cathedral and the Narbonne and Boston ivories (i–4,2,3). Early Romanesque, or proto-Romanesque if you will, is well represented with manuscripts, ivories, an enamel, a metalwork sculpture, and one stone capital. These works reflect a variety of influences from English, Ottonian, Mediterranean, and Near Eastern sources. They also prefigure the developments of the twelfth century and the evolution of the monumental in sculpture, paint, and enamel. Languedoc, Burgundy, Ile-de-France, Loire Valley, Limousin, Champagne, Lorraine, and northeast areas are all represented. Early Gothic objects are also richly shown, and these originate from many of the same areas. Especially important is the group of about ten works which illustrate a classicistic and pseudo-Byzantine style evident in the first half of the thirteenth century. This ranges from stone sculpture to stained glass, manuscript painting, ivory, metalwork, and even embroidery. The early courtly grace of French art prior to and around 1300 is amply indicated in ivories, stone and wood sculptures, and metalwork. At the head of the list is the ivory Virgin from Sainte-Chapelle from the Louvre (v–7) and the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux lent from New York (v–15). The International Style, a subject especially familiar because of the recent exhibitions, is well exemplified by some of the finest masterpieces in existence in the fields of manuscripts, panel painting, sculpture, and metalwork. Jean Bondol, the Limbourg Brothers, the Boucicaut Master, and the Rohan Master are all represented by their masterpieces (vi–3,28,29,33). The International Style as seen in works originally from the Chartreuse de Champmol near Dijon is found in the panel painting by Jean de Beaumetz and in the Mourners from the Tomb of Philip the Bold (vi–12,21).

A continuation of both monumental and exquisite interests and a renewed vigor of naturalistic observation may be seen in the late Gothic style of the second half of the fifteenth century and of the early sixteenth century, as shown in objects in all media: sculpture, painting, manuscript illumination, enamel, metalwork, and tapestry. Several tapestries are representative of a style developed after an initial impetus from Tournai in the basin of the Loire.

The current exhibition also makes it possible for the visitor to follow the con-

tinuity of style in works by one master, as in the two enamels by the Master of the Grandmont Retable from the Musée de Cluny in Paris and from the Cleveland Museum (III–30,31). Also, it is possible to trace the style and influence of one master via the work of his atelier and his followers. A study of Claus Sluter and his influence can be begun in this exhibition with the gilt-bronze Kneeling Prophet, the Mourners from the Tomb of Philip the Bold, and a large stone Virgin and Child (vi–20,21,22). The impact of André Beauneveu working in Berry is felt in Cleveland's large limestone Madonna and Child (vi–8). The hand of Jean Bondol and his atelier may be followed in the Gotha Missal (vi–3). The Limbourg Brothers may be seen repeatedly in the Belles Heures (vi–28). The Boucicaut Master can be observed in his masterpiece, lent from the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris, and in three other manuscripts as well (vi–29,30,31,32). The strangely expressive work of the Rohan Master is found in the famous manuscript known as the Rohan Hours, lent from the Bibliothèque Nationale (vi–33). Placed with it is another distinguished manuscript called the De Buz Book of Hours, which was illuminated in the same atelier (vi–34). The Bedford Master, while not represented by one of his masterworks, is exemplified possibly in a very early work by his hand and by works reflecting his later style (vi–27,35).

Changing religious and secular purposes are reflected in all of the objects in the exhibition. These purposes are essentially their prime *raison d'être*, although the more obvious purposes are not always spelled out in the catalogue entries. The changing preferences in manuscript texts are clearly seen in the emphasis on gospels, psalters, and sacramentaries made for church and monastic abbey in the earlier periods being replaced by missals, books of hours, and secular texts made for royalty, the aristocratic collector, and the wealthy or powerful patron in the later epochs. The role of liturgical drama may be felt in such Romanesque works as the two capitals dealing with the Daniel story (III–11,12), or more familiarly in the several fourteenth- and fifteenth-century works, as suggested long ago by Emile Mâle. The cults of the relic and of the Virgin are represented. So also is the exquisite mysticism and pathos found in the International Style, as in the Beaumetz panel or the Belles Heures (vi–12,28). A preoccupation with love, death, time, and eternity underlies the superficial gaiety of the secular Chaumont tapestries (VII–22,23,24,25).

The final selections also underscore fields of study which have been widely ignored in recent years, a point especially made clear by the group of late Gothic sculptures. The series of early Limoges works was intentionally emphasized and in so doing calls the bluff of many American scholars who assume that such work was merely "manufactured" and could not rival the finest Romanesque and early Gothic metalwork and enamels produced in other European centers.

Certain juxtapositions were chosen to be intentionally provocative. A continuity of style in one center has been underscored by placing two walrus ivory Elders of the Apocalypse (II-2,3) near a Gospel Book (II-1) produced thirty to forty years earlier at the same Benedictine Abbey of Saint Bertin at Saint Omer. An enamel Plaque lent from Dijon is confronted with the early twelfth-century Châsse from Bellac, with a tentative proposal that they may have been made in the same center (III-2,1). It has long been noted that the Limoges Sacramentary of circa 1100 seems to prefigure many of the features of Limoges enamels of the last quarter of the century and of the early thirteenth century (III-21). Visitors to the exhibition will be able to confirm this by direct comparison. The grouping of one of the Walters heads from Saint-Denis, the Head of Saint Bénigne from Dijon, and a relief of a Bishop, possibly carved in the Ile-de-France but now in Bourges, raises questions of chronological precedence, and at the same time contrasts the differing inspirations (III-14,16,17). The previously noted stone Head from Limoges (III-29) is remarkably akin in style and spirit to the enameled heads of the Master of the Grandmont Retable (III-30,31). A Fouquet miniature is contrasted with a work by an assistant of the contemporary miniaturist, Maître François (VII-4,5). Also, the Fouquet Portrait of an Ecclesiastic, a drawing strangely Renaissance in feeling, is compared with a Burgundian Portrait of a Nobleman, strongly medieval in flavor, created by an anonymous painter nearly thirty years later (VII-8,21). Compared are two masterpieces of painted Limoges enamels, by two different hands, the Master of the Orléans Triptych and the Master of Louis XII Triptych (VII-10,19). Saucy irreverence and an observation of life can be detected in a Bust Reliquary of Saint Félicule from Saint-Jean-d'Aulps and in an ivory Candlestick Base with secular scenes lent from Saint-Omer (VII-13,14).

The Cleveland exhibition also was planned to underscore recent discoveries, some of which are not yet published. Many years ago Rosalie Greene of the Princeton Index of Christian Art discovered that the monumental Daniel Capital (III-12), formerly in Minneapolis and now in Cleveland, has a modern copy at Saint-Aignan-sur-Cher. Included in her dissertation for the University of Chicago, Dr. Greene's discovery and identification is made public for the first time in the catalogue entry, which also discusses some of the problems raised by this identification. Cleveland's Columnar Figure from Notre-Dame-en-Vaux at Châlons-sur-Marne (III-27), identified by Willibald Sauerländer in 1963, brings to the fore the whole complex of sculptures once part of the cloister of that church, recently exhaustively studied by Leon Pressouyre. Sculptural fragments from Saint-Denis identified by Marvin C. Ross and Vera K. Ostoia and a Head from the Saint Anne portal at Notre-Dame in Paris identified by the late James J.

Rorimer are shown (III-14,15,25). Eleanor S. Greenhill's identification and analysis of a monumental Head and two torsos from the Judgment Portal of Notre-Dame in Paris is given emphasis by the loan of the Head from Chicago (IV-1). These fragments, plus the original reliefs still *in situ*, suggest that the lower portion of the Judgment Portal has a primacy in the introduction of a classicistic style into the Ile-de-France. A model for a sculpture of Duc Jean II de Bourbon, formerly attributed to the circle of Jacques Morel by the late Martin Weinberger was ascribed to Michel Colombe by Pierre Pradel in his book on this artist published in 1953 (VII-9). Completely hidden from view was the tapestry of Saint Eloi from Beaune, recently rejuvenated by the Monuments historiques. This tapestry makes its first public appearance in this exhibition (VII-16). The group of tapestries from Chaumont, now divided between Cleveland and Detroit (VII-22,23,24,25), brings renewed attention to the researches of Dorothy Shepherd in the field of Loire Valley tapestries.

By intention, uncertainly attributed objects were not avoided in the selection process preceding the exhibition. Instead, objects with "problems" were sought out, just so their difficulties could be aired and be subjected to further study. One of these objects is the early Romanesque Comb "dite de Saint Henri" lent from Verdun (II-6). Various attributions have been made, including Germany and England. This catalogue proposes on a tentative basis a northeast French localization. The loan of fragments from Cluny and Autun touch on the origins recently suggested for Gislebertus, the great sculptor who signed the tympanum at Autun. The enigmatic Head from the trumeau of Saint Bénigne in Dijon brings up another question not so easily determined (III-16). Does it depend on Saint-Denis or does it precede it? If we are to believe W. L. Hildburgh, the thirteenth-century Madonna and Child from Breuilaufa would be Spanish. However, the preponderance of opinion states that it was made in the Limousin. A decision involves certainly the whole group of related copper-sheathed Madonnas. Where were the fourteenth-century translucent enamels made, like the tiny diptych from the Blumka collection (V-12)? Could this be Paris, or is it Aachen? Some would even say England. Where were the enamels on gold produced in the International Style made? The Cleveland Medallions, mounted in modern times as a necklace, point up this question (VI-19). Was the Beaune tapestry with the arms of Chancellor Rolin made at Beaune, or in some other French Burgundian center, or in one of the areas to the north, at Arras or some related center?

More general art-historical controversies have not been avoided either, though no final solution has been attempted in this catalogue. The loan of the Relief of the Sign of the Lion and the Ram (III-4) raises several controversies of interpretation, the most heated being the question of primacy of sculptural inno-

6

vations in the churches along the pilgrimage road. For students of this problem, the question of Spain or Toulouse can begin anew in Cleveland for the duration of the exhibition. The various head fragments from late Romanesque and early Gothic portals bring up difficulties of chronology in iconography and stylistic change. The multi-faceted evolution of the columnar jamb figure, still controversial, is reflected in some of the loan sculptures. Can an influence from Mosan art be detected in specific stages of this evolution? Is the earliest classicistic monument in the Ile-de-France really the Judgment Portal of Notre-Dame in Paris? What is the development of grisaille painting, and can we isolate any explanations for its use?

An attempt was made to reunite temporarily several works fragmented by time. The assembled loans do not always constitute a complete reconstruction but instead suggest something of lost richness, scale, and detail. This is especially true of the two fragments from the façade portal of Cluny III lent from Cluny and from the Rhode Island School of Design (III-8,9). Also, the extraordinary grandeur and monumentality of a lost Limoges altar frontal is evoked in the five assembled reliefs from Boston, Baltimore, Minneapolis, and Paris (IV-4,5,6,7,8). A mid-fourteenth-century Annunciation group in marble from Javernant, one of the most exquisite and courtly products from Champagne, is seen as one rhythmic composition for the first time in more than sixty years (V-21,22). The Angel belongs to the Cleveland Museum, and the Virgin, formerly in the Doistau collection, comes from the Louvre. Unfortunately, an attempt to reunite a mid-fifteenth-century walnut Mourning Virgin of the Metropolitan Museum (VII-2) with the Mourning Saint John, both from the same Crucifixion group, was not consummated. These pieces were once at the Abbey of Beaugerais (Indre-et-Loire).

Other factors were kept in mind in the selection of objects. A survey was made of the enormous bibliography and the large number of exhibitions which touched upon the subject of the present exhibition one way or another. A unique scope and catholicity of purpose evolved in relation to this research. Even a summary review of the record of the previous exhibitions, all of which had quite different aims, underscores the special value of the present exhibition as finally consummated. The Paris Exposition des primitifs français of 1904 contained paintings, a few sculptures, a few ivories, and a group of manuscripts all dating from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries. Only four objects from this exhibition reappear in Cleveland (V-21; VI-4,29; VII-8), where about eighty objects in the same area of focus are shown. Two manuscripts shown in the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition of illuminated manuscripts held in London in 1908, both now in American collections, are seen again in the present event (V-1,2). Two

other manuscripts, shown in *Le livre français* at the Musée des arts décoratifs in 1923 also appear (III-7; VI-32). The exhibition, *Moyen-Age*, held at the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1926 was devoted to manuscripts, drawings, prints, metal-work, jewels, printed books, and medals from a variety of origins, such as Byzantium, Italy, Germany, Spain, and the Netherlands, as well as France. Only two manuscripts from this group, the Boucicaut Hours and Rohan Hours, recur (VI-32,33). In 1928 the Detroit Institute of Arts held an exhibition, *French Gothic Art of the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Century*, from which four objects, all American-owned, are repeated (VI-14,19,22; VII-5). In 1932 the Royal Academy in London mounted a large exhibition, *French Art, 1200–1900*, from which one Romanesque manuscript (III-7) and five Gothic works were borrowed again. The Gothic works are the ivory Virgin from Sainte-Chapelle from the Louvre (V-7), the ivory Pyxis from Dijon (V-16), the large grisaille drawing on vellum, illustrating the Death of the Virgin, lent from the Louvre (VI-11), Cleveland's Sachs Annunciation panel (VI-14), and the Fouquet drawing from the Metropolitan (VII-8). Three Morgan manuscripts included in *The Pierpont Morgan Library Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts* of 1933–1934 may be seen again in Cleveland (II-1,5; V-1). The mammoth exhibition in Paris in 1937, *Chefs-d'œuvre de l'art français*, had a similar scope to the earlier but smaller London exhibition. From about 1,340 items, dating through the nineteenth century, ten recur in Cleveland, including three Romanesque stone sculptures (III-4,5,6), the Eucharistic Coffret from Limoges (III-35), two Gothic stone sculptures (III-37; IV-3), two Gothic ivories (V-10,16), the Boucicaut Hours (VI-29), and the armorial tapestry lent from Beaune (VII-3). In 1940 the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston held an exhibition—*Arts of the Middle Ages, 1000–1400*—which encompassed all of Europe and Byzantium. Six objects, all of them Romanesque but one, are repeated; three of these, then on the art market, have joined the others in American public collections (II-1,5,9; III-6,10; IV-1). Of the eight tapestries included in the present exhibition, three were seen in the great survey of French tapestries from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century held in Paris in 1946 and in New York in 1947 just following World War II (VI-36; VII-3,26). Of the 158 examples of Limousin enamels shown at Limoges in 1948, six pieces may be seen at Cleveland (III-1,32,33,35; IV-5,24). However, thirteen additional Limousin works not shown at Limoges were borrowed to make a total of nineteen, the most important loan group in this field ever assembled in the United States. In 1949 the Walters Art Gallery put together an exhibition, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, which included European manuscripts from American collections. Only two Romanesque and seven Gothic manuscripts join in the total number of thirty-two manuscripts now at Cleveland (II-5; III-21;

IV-14; V-1,14; VI-23,31,34; VII-5). *La Vierge dans l'art français* was the subject of an exhibition held in the Petit Palais in Paris in 1950, and six Gothic examples of this group are found in Cleveland (IV-15; V-6,10; VI-13,33; VII-10). Six repeats occur from French Painting 1100-1900, installed at Pittsburgh's Carnegie Institute in 1951 (VI-14,23,27,34; VII-5,8).

An attempt was made to steer clear of objects created beyond the borders of present-day France. This especially excluded Mosan works such as those admirably shown in the exhibitions in Paris and in Liège in 1951. Limitations in the requests for stained-glass panels were necessitated because of the extreme fragility of such glass. However, of the three examples secured, two appeared previously in the exhibition, *Vitraux de France du XI^e au XVI^e siècle*, held at the Musée des arts décoratifs in Paris in 1953 (IV-10; VI-9). One Carolingian, six Romanesque, and five Gothic manuscripts appear in Cleveland from the two memorable exhibitions of French manuscripts organized by Julien Cain and the late Jean Porcher in Paris in 1954 and 1955 (I-4; II-1,5,10,11; III-3,7; VI-5,26, 29,32,33).

Selections were made of objects which also appeared in ten exhibitions held more recently: eight objects from *Chefs d'œuvre romans des musées de Province* (Paris, 1957 and 1958), four from *L'art en Champagne au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1959), eleven from *Cathédrales* (Paris, 1962), four from *Europäisches Kunst um 1400* (Vienna, 1962), ten from *International Style, the Arts of Europe around 1400* (Baltimore, 1962), seven from *Gothic Art 1360-1440* (Cleveland, 1963), one from *Notre-Dame de Paris, 1163-1963* (Paris, 1963), one from *Huit siècles de sculpture française, chefs-d'œuvre des Musées de France* (Paris, 1964), thirteen from *Les trésors des églises de France* (Paris, 1965), and one from *L'exposition Charlemagne, œuvre rayonnement et survivances* (Aix-la-Chapelle, 1965). Several of the same items recur a number of times in these exhibitions, and a few others not mentioned. The resulting total of such works seen now again in Cleveland is 87. The present exhibition numbers 158 pieces, of which therefore 71 works were not shown in the previous series. A more detailed survey would show that the Cleveland exhibition is nearly unique in its aim to show masterpieces in any material selected from the entire range of French medieval art.

In preparing the Cleveland exhibition there were of course many disappointments resulting from the unavailability of requested monuments. Also, many other objects were never even considered because of known restrictions or their unsuitability for travel. While only a bare fraction of the preserved wealth of material is shown in Cleveland, it would be foolish to attempt more. The exhibition is of palatable size for the average intelligent visitor, and it will be, of course,

extremely provocative to the student of history of art. However, the fact that loans from American collections are included does not imply that this is all of the cream of French medieval art in America. One need only visit the medieval collections in Boston, Cambridge, Philadelphia, the Morgan Library, the Walters Art Gallery, and the incomparable confluence of the gifts of Morgan, Blumenthal, and Rockefeller together with the purchases of the late James J. Rorimer and his staff at the Metropolitan Museum and its branch at the Cloisters to realize how little of the surface has been scratched. Furthermore, many but not all of the great acquisitions of William M. Milliken, Director Emeritus of the Cleveland Museum, are included. Objects such as the fine series of Romanesque capitals from the Collégiale of Saint Meleine at Preuilly-sur-Claise, a number of manuscript illuminations, and several Limoges enamels may be seen in their regular places in the Museum's permanent collections. Also, it is well to remember that there are isolated masterpieces scattered in many other public collections across the country, not the least of which are in college museums. All of these objects, like those included in the exhibition, are eloquent testaments to the genius of the French medieval artist and the glory of France in the Middle Ages.

WILLIAM D. WIXOM

CHAPTER ONE

Merovingian Inheritance
and Carolingian Experiment

Frankish Kingdom,
second half 8th century

I 1 *Medallion with Bust of Christ.* Cloisonné enamel on copper, Diam.
1-15/16 inches. Provenance: Treasury of the Cathedral of Saint
Blasius, Brunswick. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the
J. H. Wade Fund, 30.504.

Disarming simplicity and a Calder-like naïveté give this enamel disk its unique decorative appeal to the modern eye. Yet this small object has its own mystery as a primitive Christian image. It conveys a momentous concept, which pervades the art of the Middle Ages: Christ as *Logos*, holding the Book, symbol of the Word, placed above the double circles of heaven and earth, flanked below by strange animal heads with spouts or winds which seem to give forth the symbols of Christ as the beginning and the end—the A of *alpha* and the ω of *omega*.

This is an early, experimental amalgamation between two forceful artistic traditions. The first is the abstract, linear animal style of the migrating peoples, specifically that of the Frankish peoples converted to Christianity under Clovis (481–511). The second tradition is that of the figural style

of the Mediterranean world already adapted to the uses of Christian dogma. Tentative as it is, the Cleveland Medallion is one of the most successful in this amalgamation of a small group of enamels done in the same technique and from the same early period.

An exact dating cannot be given for the Cleveland Medallion. However, it should be considered in conjunction with the others in its immediate group and studied in relation to the entire sequence of early medieval European enamels. Also a similar linear imagery may be seen in late Merovingian manuscripts, such as the Gudohinus Gospels of 754 (Autun MS. 3). Such comparisons support a dating of the Cleveland Medallion at the end of the Merovingian era and on the threshold of the Carolingian renaissance.



Workshop of Charlemagne's court,
early 9th century

I 2

Plaque with the Crucifixion and Scenes of the Last Supper, Betrayal of Christ, Three Marys at the Tomb, Incredulity of Thomas, Ascension of Christ, and the Pentecost. Ivory, H. 10, W. 6-3/16 inches. Inscriptions: Titulus above Christ, HIC EST IHS NAZARENVS REX IVDEOR[um]; sinister, MVLIER ECCE FILIVS TVVS; dexter, APLE ECCE MATER TVA. Narbonne (Aude), Trésor de la cathédrale Saint Just.

The enormous impact of Charlemagne's revival of learning and the arts can be felt in this single ivory Plaque. The tentative and cursive character of the lingering Merovingian style observable in the Christ Medallion (cat. no. I-1) is here abandoned in favor of a creative revival of late Roman and early Christian draped figure style. A clarity and discipline of a different sort has come to the fore in the presentation of a complex iconographical program. The expressive power given to this program results from the use at the same time of a distinctive shorthand and an animated spatial illusionism in which figures are modeled, move and gesticulate.

The composition is dominated by the figure of the youthful, beardless, and triumphant Christ, whose suffering is

more symbolic than realistic. About the cross are small scenes of the Passion and episodes after the Resurrection. The small scenes are based in part on similar scenes and tight frieze-like compositions of figures in fourth-century ivories. The chief difference is that a new sense of animation and inner vibrancy is found in the Carolingian work.

Possibly intended to be set into a book cover, the Narbonne ivory is one of several Carolingian ivories with many of the same features. Hermann Schnitzler has assigned this ivory, together with several others, to the late production of the *Ecole de la cour* which were completed before the death of the emperor.



Metz or Palace School
of Charles the Bald,
late 9th century

I 3 *Apparition of Christ in Jerusalem.* (See Mark 16:14; Luke 24:36–50;
John 20: 19–23.) Ivory, H. 2-13/16, W. 2-1/8, D. 3/8 inches. Boston,
Museum of Fine Arts, William E. Nickerson Fund, 50.819.

Except for the loss of Christ's head, this ivory is in as impeccable condition as the Narbonne ivory (cat. no. I-2). Yet the eye is teased to discern the differences between the two—the larger plaque representative of the earlier court "school" of Charlemagne and the smaller relief exemplifying the style of a "school" under Reims influence, possibly Metz, a generation later.

One might compare the treatment of the crowd in the closely related scene of the Incredulity of Thomas in the lower right part of the Narbonne plaque with the Apparition of Christ in Jerusalem. Spatial depth is replaced by contained vertical extension. The figures of the Narbonne plaque, crowding forward against each other and retaining a Constantinian frieze-like character, are substituted by a clearly distinguishable number of figures and heads, one set above the other, making the recession move upwards but not in depth. The apostles are displayed more clearly in this way and are even countable.

The architecture in both cases tends to offset the enlarged central figure. The Boston plaque emphasizes this with the repeated vertical accents of the closed door flanked by col-

umns and the double columns above and inside the interior space which support an otherwise ambiguously placed tile roof.

Taken together in their entirety, the two ivories suggest that artistic and patronage interests in the Carolingian period were far from static. The ideal of late Roman-early Christian illusionism, once so vital to the early Carolingians, was proving more and more irrelevant to Christian dogma. This point is borne out by a comparison with the several possible sources for the composition of the Boston ivory proposed by Hanns Swarzenski. Scenes in the famous Carolingian Psalter, produced near Reims and now preserved at Utrecht, and specifically a miniature illustrating the Ascension and Pentecost in the Bible of San Callisto, made at Reims circa 870, show a strong preoccupation with vibrant quivering excitement and staccato stages moving upward and across the area allotted for illustration. This process, already begun in the Narbonne ivory as a whole, was not carried out in the individual scenes, exactly the development accepted in the Boston relief and the Troyes Psalter miniature (cat. no. I-4).



Only one of the possibly three original painted miniatures in this Psalter is preserved. However, this single miniature demands more attention than it usually is given, being eclipsed by the more famous Gospels made for Ebbo, Archbishop of Reims (816–835/45).

The one remaining miniature, which is reproduced, illustrates Psalm LI in the Latin Psalter of St. Jerome. It is close compositionally and iconographically to the pen-drawn miniature in the even more famous Utrecht Psalter, produced near Reims and dated circa 820 to circa 850 (cf. Engelbregt). The Psalm's title, "... when Doeg the Edomite came and told Saul, and said unto him David is come to the house of Ahimelech" (I Samuel 22:9), is reflected in the lower left portion of both illustrations. Near the center of both compositions, the bearded psalmist, holding a razor, gesticulates to Christ-Logos, seated in a mandorla above with angels and saints. Because of the contraction of the composition in the Troyes miniature, the olive tree mentioned in the Psalm is pushed to the upper left corner. Thus, as can be seen in its one extant miniature, the Troyes Psalter, like the Utrecht

Psalter, attempted to provide direct and nearly literal textual references in its illustration.

Quotations from the Psalm further reinforce the literalness of the Troyes representation. Between the elongated acroterion and the psalmist is: TOTA DIE INIUSTITIAM. At the center is: PROPTEREA D(eu)s. Beneath the olive tree is: EGO AUTEM SICUT OLIVA. Above the heads of the saints at the left is: VIDEBUNT IUSTI.

As a painted near-equivalent to the pen-drawn style of the Utrecht Psalter, the Troyes miniature is nearly unique. In its painterly depiction of figures and architecture in landscape space, framed with wide borders, it can be grouped with the contemporary Physiologus at Bern. Both manuscripts, as in the entire Reims school, show in varying ways a strong but creative dependence on Greco-Italian traditions. The difference is that painterly illusionism was used for expressive ends—the figures in the Troyes miniature have an emotional, dynamic intensity expressed in terms of vibrant color, flicks of light, and nervous movement.



CHAPTER TWO

Proto-Romanesque, Assimilations, and Monumental Art

Northeast France,
Benedictine Abbey of
Saint Bertin at Saint Omer,
early 11th century (before 1008),
by Abbot Odbert and Assistants

II 1 *Four Gospels*, in Latin. Vellum, 96 leaves, H. 12-1/4, W. 7-7/8 inches.
Provenance: Abbey of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer. New York, The
Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 333.

The precocious brilliance of Carolingian manuscript painting had few worthy heirs in tenth-century France. Instead the torch was kindled anew in the great Ottonian monastic centers to the east, as at Corvei on the Weser, Reichenau, Trier, Fulda, and Regensburg. The English center at Winchester was an especially creative force at this time. By contrast the monastic scriptoria within the confines of present-day France were hesitant and tentative to say the least.

However, around 1000, northeast France witnessed the development of several related but distinct styles of manuscript painting. Especially outstanding in this respect was the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Bertin at Saint Omer which produced this Gospel Book. Carolingian features were revived, as can be seen in the Evangelists enthroned against russet purple backgrounds and framed by heavy acanthus-filled borders. The style of Winchester made enormous inroads and some Carolingian features are seen through English eyes; nervous pen-drawn drapery folds of the Utrecht Psalter are hardened a little and the hanging folds become frozen in the Winchester manner. This is understandable, as the Utrecht Psalter had been brought to England shortly before 1000. The explosive character of the acanthus, especially at the corners of the borders, also testifies to English inspiration.

The real contributions of the painters at Saint Bertin lay in two directions. The first was in terms of a rich color ensemble which emphasized olive greens, russet purples, blue highlighted with lines of orange and white, bare-vellum with orange lines, and an occasional intense area-color accent of orange or green.

The second contribution lay in the direction of the development of the historiated or inhabited initial and enframing border. The germ of this, of course, lay in the earlier styles of the pre-Carolingian period. Otto Pächt has observed that

the manuscript illuminators at the monastery at Corbie, circa 800, gave impetus to the use of a kaleidoscopic involvement of man, animal, leaf work, and letter. It is to the intensification of this anti-classical tradition that much of Romanesque art is dedicated. The purpose is still clearly in the glorification of the Word, the New Order, the entire Christian dogma. Nowhere can this be better seen than on the pages facing the Evangelist portraits (themselves heirs to the tradition of classical author portraits). Folio 85, IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBUM... (In the beginning was the Word...) shows in the initial I, the Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John, and below, the Church triumphant over the Synagogue. The border contains scenes of the Harrowing of Hell, the Three Marys at the Empty Tomb, and Christ's Ascension (top). Symbolic figures for the four rivers of Paradise and below of earth and sea complete the sequence. It is notable that all of these figures and representations are treated in similar manner as the ornament itself. There is no distinction of foreground and background. The same pen outlines figures and acanthus. Clearly late Classical-early Christian illusionistic purposes have at this point been absorbed and abstracted within the Romanesque continuum of forms discussed by Professor Pächt.¹

The late A. M. Friend related this Gospel Book to a great Psalter at Boulogne (MS. 20) which Odbert, abbot of Saint Bertin from 986–1008, signed as decorator. Friend further suggested that the pen-drawn and wash figures found below the text on folio 84 of the Morgan manuscript might represent Abbot Odbert and Dodolinus, a scribe, presenting their work to Saint Bertin.

¹ Otto Pächt, "The Pre-Carolingian Roots of Early Romanesque Art," *Studies in Western Art*, vol. 1: *Romanesque and Gothic Art* (Princeton, 1963), pp. 67–75.

uandis mandatis paracletis p̄.

XII **O**e uinea & palmitibus. &
dedilectione & de promissi
one paradīti. & omnia
patris sua esse & cōcera
mandata.

XIII **I**hs discipulos patri cōmen
dit. Ihs anūda traditur.

XIV **A**llocutio pilati adiudicōs.
de ihū & bārabbā. passio
ihū. & sepultura. & resur
rectio eius.

EXPLICIVNT

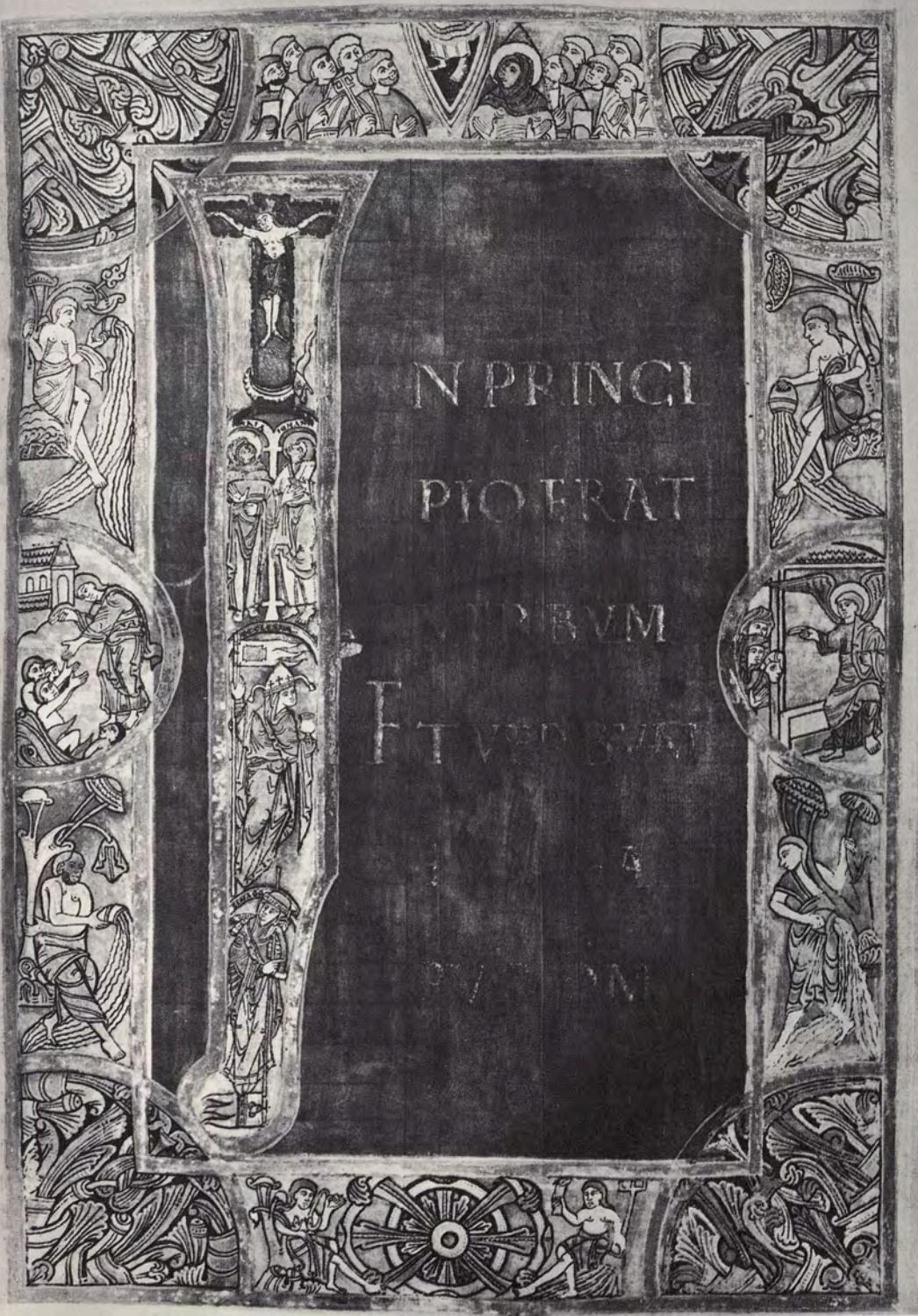
BREVES CAVSAE:





N PRINCI
PIO FRAT

EMP BVM
ET VEN



Northeast France,
Saint Omer,
Abbey of Saint Bertin,
ca. 1050

II 2, 3 *Two Enthroned Elders of the Apocalypse.* Walrus ivory. II-2:
H. 4-1/2, W. 1-3/4 inches; Saint Omer (Pas-de-Calais), Musée
Hôtel Sandelin. II-3: H. 4-3/8, W. 1-7/8 inches. New York, The Metropolitan
Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.220).

These two walrus ivory relief figures were probably once part of a larger series illustrating the twenty-four elders of the Apocalypse envisioned by Saint John. Only four are known today and these were described by Adolph Goldschmidt who also assigned them to the Abbey of Saint Bertin. The Saint Omer example was found in a tomb in Saint Omer. Goldschmidt's dating in the twelfth century is too late, as recognized by Hanns Swarzenski in his *Monuments of Romanesque Art*. These small figures have a richness of surface, especially in the use of paired lines for folds and zigzag drapery edges, which closely ally them to the work of Odbert and his assistants as seen in the Morgan Gospels (cat no. II-1). Also similar are the intent facial expressions, figure proportions, and multi-columned or balustered thrones based on Byzantine art. Their animation becomes more monumental in the series of elders on the great stone tympanum at Moissac carved more than one hundred years later.



Poitou, ca.1044–1049

II 4 *Engaged Capital.* Stone, H. 16-1/8, W. 21-5/8, D. 22-1/2 inches.
Provenance: Probably from the Choir of the Church of Saint Hilaire,
Poitou. Poitiers (Vienne), Musée municipaux.

Monumental, confronted, and contorted lions crouch with their heads turned back, one with tongue hanging. Certainly this is an example of the welling up of the primeval animal styles pervasive in Europe since early times. The carving of the manes with angular parallel grooves recalls the "chip carving" found again and again in the metalwork of the migrating peoples, as for example in some of the seventh-century Frankish and Burgundian buckles and fibulae.

The vegetable form in the center may represent the "tree of life." Popular as a motif in Romanesque times, this feature had ancestry in the ancient Iranian east. M. Sandoz suggests that the intermediaries could have been textiles and manuscripts. These would probably have been both Byzantine and Western examples. Eastern textiles were directly copied on several occasions in Ottonian manuscripts. Lions, tongues out, confront a tree of life on a decorative page inspired by Eastern textiles in the Codex Aureus of Echternach,

mid-eleventh century, now preserved at the Germanisches National-Museum, Nuremberg.

The stylistic character of the lions on the Capital have a close parallel in the seventh-century Iranian textiles placed (before 853) in the reliquaries of Saint Colombe and Saint Loup in the treasury at Sens. These particular examples have special interest in that they show their confronted lions with very similar stylized manes and with two-toed paws suggesting cloven hoofs. Also at the treasury of Le Mans can be seen Spanish textiles with confronted lions, possibly contemporary with the Capital, which exhibit a related treatment of the manes.

The Capital was probably a part of the choir of the Church of Saint Hilaire at Poitiers constructed between 1044 and 1049, when it was dedicated on November 1 under the auspices of Guillaume VII, Duke of the Aquitaine (Pierre Aigret), and his mother Agnes of Burgundy, Countess of Poitou.



Normandy,
Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel,
second half 11th century
(after 1067)

II 5

Sacramentary, in Latin. Vellum, H. 11-1/4, W. 8-1/2 inches. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 641.

A product of the scriptorium of the abbey at Mont-Saint-Michel, this *Sacramentary* was probably made for use at the monastery at Fécamp in the diocese of Rouen, as proposed in 1932 by Meyer Schapiro. The manuscript is written and illuminated on a heavy cream vellum. There are sixteen miniatures and eighteen historiated or decorated initials. Some of these may have been painted by the same painter who worked on a manuscript now at Avranches (MS. 72). The earliest example of the rarely depicted story of Heraclius' two approaches to the city of Jerusalem appears in a double register miniature on folio 155 verso.

The style of this manuscript is closely related to other manuscripts from Mont-Saint-Michel and is particularly noteworthy in its subtle use of chalky, opaque pastel colors, much in the manner of Nice period paintings by Matisse. This pallor may be seen at an earlier date in Winchester manuscripts, yet the density of the color as well as the occasional intense color notes seem to be more characteristic of the Continent at this time.

The *Sacramentary* is a good example of the tenacity of artistic traditions. The frames with their accented corners variously recall ninth-century Franco-Insular manuscripts or

later Winchester adaptations. The full-page decoration and text for the collect for Easter Sunday on a purple ground (folio 66 verso) has a frame with trellised acanthus very much in the manner of the Winchester school. The figure style of the Christ within the letter B on this page, and also of the other historiated initials and miniatures, retains a certain amount of the drapery animation derived from Carolingian art via English adaptations. The paired lines for folds continue from earlier productions of north French scriptoria, such as in the Gospels from the Abbey of Saint Bertin at Saint Omer (cat. no. II-1). Especially noteworthy is the use of architectural excerpts which hang canopy-like over some of the figure compositions. These could have their ancestry in the Carolingian uses of architecture as in the backgrounds for Evangelist portraits and in the excerpted buildings in the upper reaches of the grandiose compositions of the Utrecht Psalter. The canopies of excerpted architecture continue through the Romanesque period in France, in manuscripts, in enamels (cat. no. III-3), and in sculptured works as in the Daniel Capital (cat. no. III-12).



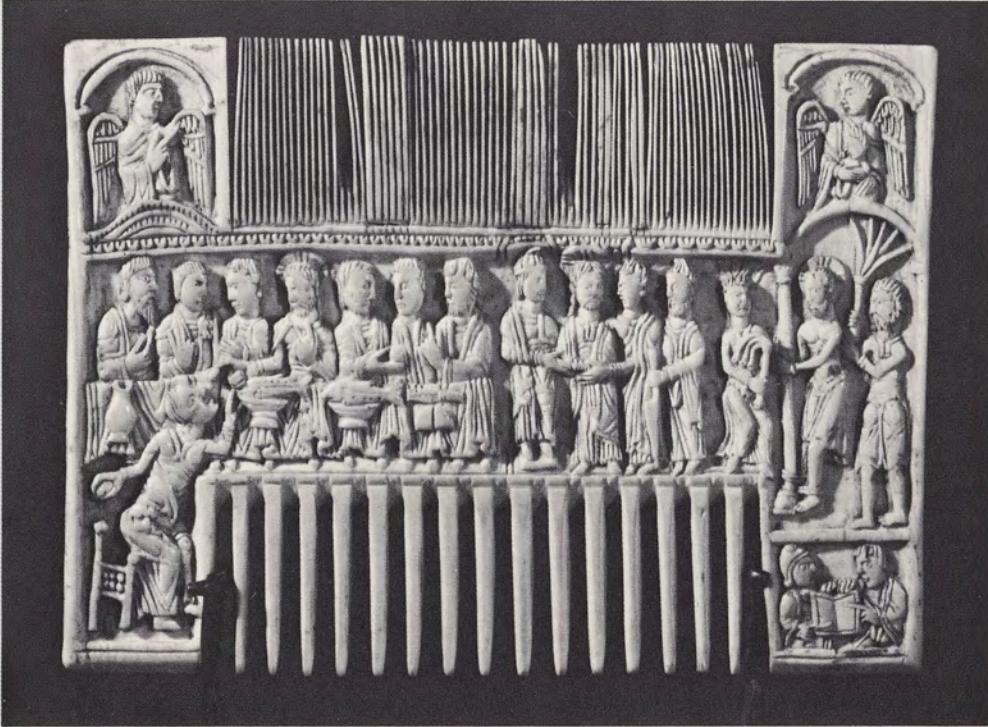
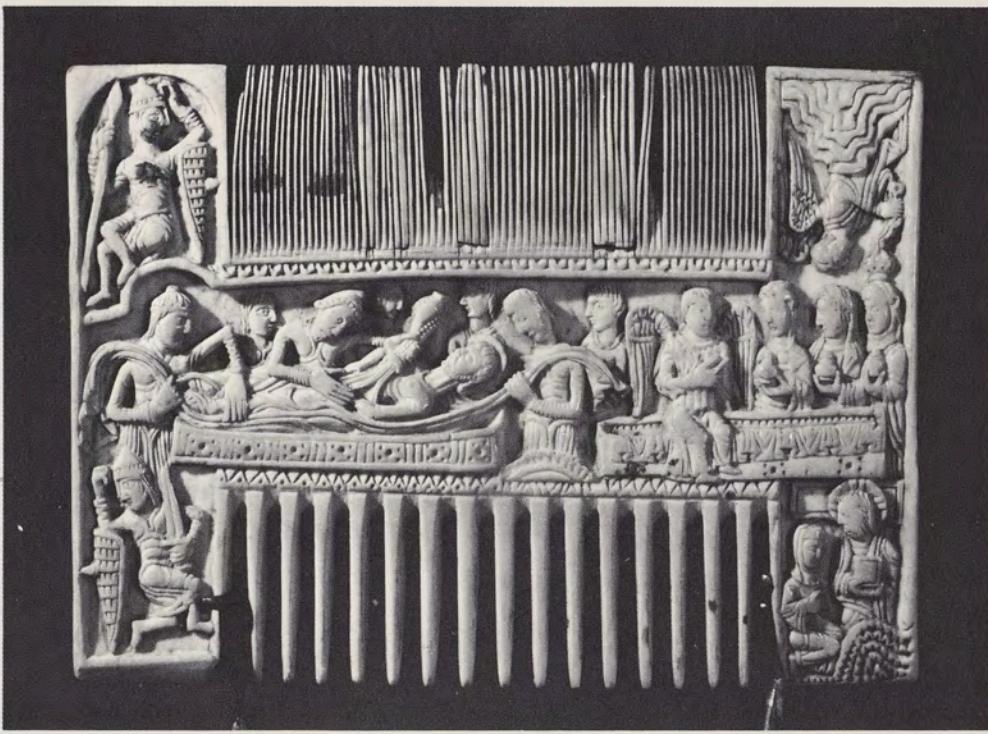
Tradition tells us that this Comb was used in the consecration of Henry II, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, 1002-1024. Henry is said to have given the Comb in 1023 to Abbot Richard of the Abbey of Saint-Vanne. Inventories of 1745 and 1763 for this Abbey list the Comb among its treasures. It has long been assumed, especially since Goldschmidt included it as a twelfth-century object in his corpus of early ivories, that the style of the Comb precluded a date early enough to confirm this tradition.

The Passion of Christ is partially represented in the scenes which appear on one side of the Comb. These include the Last Supper, with Judas at the lower left, the Arrest of Christ, the Flagellation, and two angels in the upper sections, one of whom holds a small figure, possibly representing a soul. (This could be a reference to the Resurrection hinted at on the reverse.) Below at the right two prophets study an opened book. On the reverse of the Comb may be found scenes of episodes after the Crucifixion. They are the Entombment with Nicodemus anointing the body of Christ, the Three Marys at the Empty Tomb, above an angel with a censer, and below the *Noli me tangere*. At the left are two of the soldiers usually depicted at the grave at the time of the Resurrection, a scene which is not shown. It is significant that this important subject and also that of the Crucifixion are omitted, a fact possibly explained by the liturgical use of the Comb after the application of holy oil. The liturgical purpose of the Comb may account for the fact that the Last Supper, the Anointing of the Body of Christ, and the three Marys bringing jars of ointment to the tomb are given the greatest amount of space. Mary Magdalene, shown alone with Christ in the scene below the empty tomb, was identified with the woman who had earlier washed Christ's feet with her tears and anointed them with the ointment (Luke 7:37-38). One of her attributes in art is the ointment jar. These considerations, combined with the possibility that the artist was attempting to fit the scenes of a more iconographically complete model into the difficult shape of the Comb, may explain the iconographical program as well as the kaleidoscopic overlappings and such excerpts as the soldiers at the tomb.

The Comb is appealing as a visual object. There is a frieze-like treatment of all of the subjects which unites them as decoration. Yet within each unit are animated details which give life to the whole, as in the grotesque figure of Judas reaching upwards to the table with its large jar and pots with fish. The artist is careful to inform us which figure is Christ in every instance, in most cases by the crossed nimbus. He also indicates with a key which figure is Peter at Christ's right at the Last Supper. Momentous events are given a vivid embodiment in a small space. The narrow ends of the Comb are enlivened by two winged, fantastic beasts with knotted or foliated tails.

The style of the Comb should be carefully considered anew. The fact that it is somewhat tentative and not clearly and dominantly Romanesque in feeling would immediately put suspicion on Goldschmidt's late dating. Not enough is known about ivory carving in the eleventh century to make any definite attribution as to the localization. German and English attributions have been made. Lower Rhenish areas, including the Lorraine, should also be considered. We are told by the late Jean Porcher that Abbot Richard himself had made his Abbey of Saint-Vanne in the Diocese of Verdun "the center of monastic reform that embraced a number of communities in the district of the Meuse." The manuscripts decorated for him "recall by their classical elegance the paintings executed towards the end of the tenth century for Egbert, Archbishop of Trier. . ." ¹ Perhaps the Comb was made at Saint-Vanne. So also should be considered such northeast "French" centers of Saint Amand and Arras which come to mind because of stylistic similarities with their manuscript productions of the same period, the second quarter of the eleventh century. (A parallel stage of stylistic development may be seen in the Mont-Saint-Michel Missal in the exhibition, cat. no. II-5.) It would be amusing to find that in a more precise dating and localization the story of the liturgical Comb's connection with Henry II might even be confirmed.

¹ Jean Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures* (New York, 1959), p. 23.



Burgundy, Abbey of Cluny,
end of 11th century

II 7

Miniature Showing Saint Luke, from a Bible, in Latin. Vellum,
H. 4-7/8, W. 7-3/4 inches. Montreal, Mr. and Mrs. L. V. Randall.

The plastic monumentality of the depiction of Saint Luke on this Bible fragment suggests that here is one of the most impressive Evangelist "portraits" to be painted in the Romanesque period. The inspiration for this vision, of course, must have been renewed contact with Byzantine painting, possibly directly through manuscripts carried to the West or indirectly through such centers as Monte Cassino or Rome, or through the presence of Italian artists or their work at Cluny. Carl Nordenfalk describes the "damp fold" technique of treating draped figures, which was carried over from classical art by the Byzantines and developed by them "into a systematic interplay of plastic folds forming well-marked ridges and drapery surfaces clinging closely to the body."¹ Also the nobility of Saint Luke's bearded head, and his throne as well, strongly recall similar features in Byzantine art.

¹ Carl Nordenfalk, *Romanesque Painting* (Lausanne, 1958), p. 188.

Having assimilated the Byzantine aesthetic, our painter alters it with his own refined, firm, linear elegance and his use of subtle nuances. He is able to express repose and monumentality as in the seated figure, yet balance it with the dashing movement of the waving scroll and the bull emerging from behind the enormous lectern.

The individuality of this distinctive style can be found elsewhere in works produced at Cluny, especially in a contemporary Lectionary now badly fragmented and in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Nouv. acq. lat. 2246), to which Philippe Lauer originally compared the Cluniac frescoes at Berzé-la-Ville.² Meyer Schapiro has re-examined the whole subject of the Cluny manuscripts of this time in relation to the Ildefonsus at Parma. In his study he has assigned the Montreal miniature to the same hand who painted the Lectionary in Paris. However, he believes for textual reasons that the Montreal fragment comes from a Bible and not from the Lectionary.

² Philippe Lauer, *Les Enluminures romanes des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1927), p. 31.

quod opante agriculturale oporteat defructib; suscide
re. utrumque publici curiositate. ne nra uolentib;
dum demonstrasse uiderem. quia factientibus
argu meritum.

Expt p[ro]p[ri]etate

FUIT IN DIES VSK



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Northeast France, Saint Omer (?), II 8
end of 11th century

Christ in Majesty. Gilt bronze, H. 6-1/4 inches. Provenance: From the châsse of Saint Babolin. Le Coudray-Saint-Germer (Oise), église.

Some of the stylistic features of the walrus ivory Elders from Saint Bertin (cat. nos. II-2,3) are continued in this Christ in Majesty, as seen in the splayed legs, the paired lines for folds, the zigzag drapery edges, the direct stare of the inlaid eyes, and the forcefully modeled head. However, this bronze, only about two inches taller than the ivories, suggests even more the monumental sculptures of the tympana to follow in the twelfth century, such as the central figures of Christ at Anzy-le-Duc or Perrecy-les-Forges in Burgundy. The bronze Christ belonged, together with several other pieces, to a châsse dedicated to Saint Babolin.



Rouergue, Conques (?),
late 11th century

II 9 *Bust of a Saint.* Cloisonné enamel, two thicknesses of copper, gilding,
H. 2-9/16, W. 1-13/16 inches. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts,
William F. Warner Fund, 49.471.

This remarkable enamel, here illustrated in color and enlarged twice its size, was undoubtedly produced in an enameling workshop closely related to the one responsible for the cloisonné enamels on the Portable Altar of Saint Foy in the well-known treasury at Conques. These enamels, with busts of Christ, saints, and Evangelist symbols, are generally dated at the end of the eleventh century or circa 1100. Marie-Madeleine Gauthier has underscored in an unpublished paper the many common technical similarities evident in this comparison.

The busts of Christ and saints on the Conques altar and the Boston enamel seem also to emulate to a certain extent the contemporary Byzantine examples of cloisonné

enameling, such as the notable Swenigorodskoi medallion series taken from an icon in Djumati, Georgia, and now chiefly in the Metropolitan Museum. Unlike such Byzantine enamels, the Boston enamel has, in common with those at Conques, a distinctive meandering character to its cloisonnés reminiscent of Cleveland's Christ Medallion of the late eighth century (cat. no. I-1). The colors of the Boston and Conques enamels emphasize broad areas of deep lapis-blue, a darker blue, turquoise, red, white, and occasionally green—a color choice and combination which have a more dramatic impact than is evident in the more elegantly patterned and decorated Byzantine examples.



Anjou, Angers,
end of 11th century

II 10 *Psalter*, in Latin. Vellum, xix and 201 folios, H. 9-7/8, W. 8-1/4
inches. Amiens (Somme), Bibliothèque municipale, MS.
Lescalopier 2.

The early Romanesque art of the Midi insinuated its style northward via the pilgrimage roads. Monuments in the region of the Loire Valley can illustrate this. For example, one need only look at the fresco paintings at Saint Savin, at such architectural decorations as the Daniel Capital from Saint-Aignan-sur-Cher (cat. no. III-12), and at manuscript decoration, even as early as the three manuscripts decorated by the same hand in Angers, of which the present manuscript is one.

The principal decoration of the Psalter of Angers is one conceived in gay colors—blues, oranges, yellows, and greens—arranged in pleated and angled planes creating shallow envelopes of space, opened in the case of the drapery behind the King David, or closed like flattened, corrugated stove-pipes in the depictions of human limbs. Sensible to cubist constructions, we can easily savor the special staccato order and color composition in the three miniatures by the same artist contained in this Psalter: the portrait of David playing his harp (folio 11⁵ verso), his four assembled musicians (folio 11⁶), and in the initial B containing David and Goliath.

We can see the same style and hand in the decorations in the Bible of the Abbey of Saint Aubin at Angers now in the

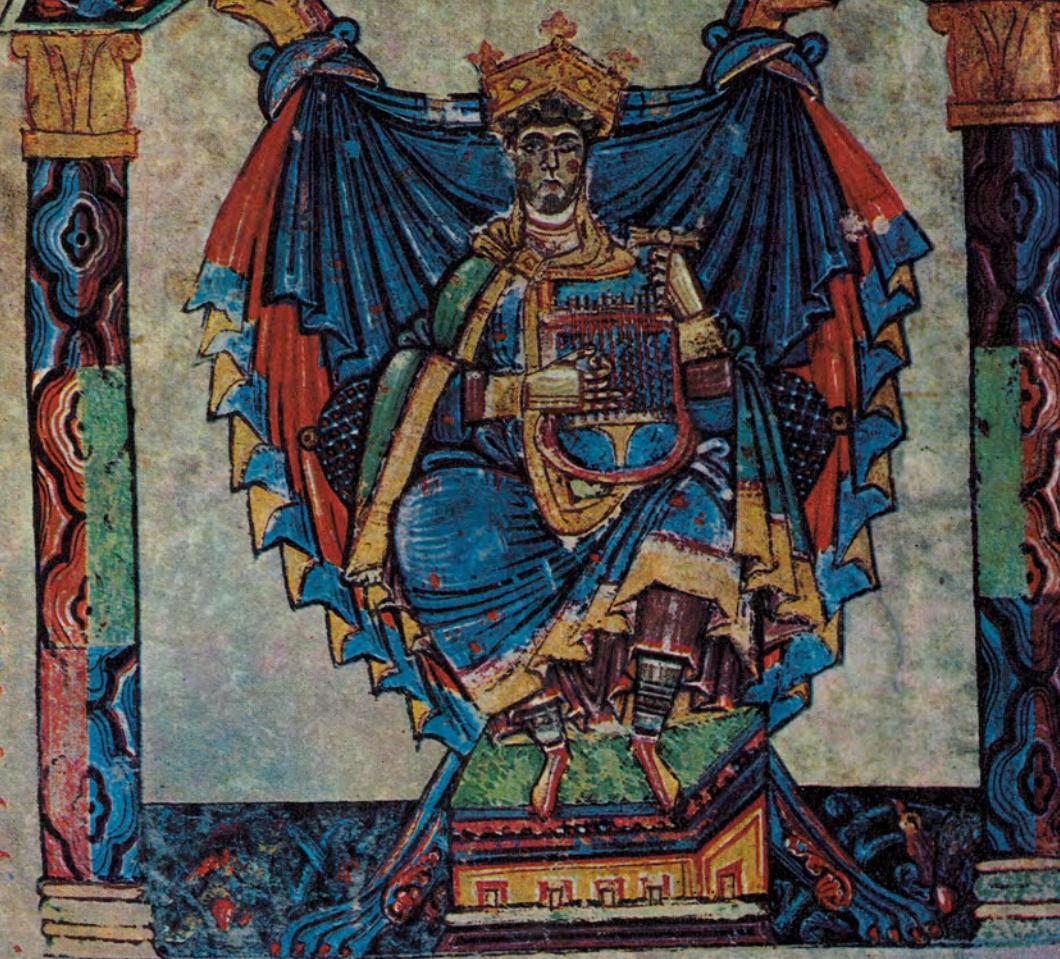
library at Angers, and in the Life of Saint Aubin, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The late Jean Porcher has pointed out that the artist was careful in the Psalter to distinguish between the hieratic nobility of David as opposed to the heavier humanity of his musicians. Likewise in the Life of Saint Aubin he was careful to contrast "the intellectual gifts and moral authority of the Saint and the vulgarity of the guests sitting down to a feast given to celebrate an incestuous marriage."¹

The Abbey of Saint Aubin in Angers, burnt to the ground in 1032, was rebuilt a little later and undoubtedly found the need of replacing its lost library. Abbot Gerard (1082–1108), according to Porcher, contracted a layman named Fulk who did many wall paintings and stained glass windows for him. All of these are now lost. Porcher suggested that both the above-mentioned books and the frescoes at Château-Gontier, a dependency of Saint Aubin, were painted during the abbotcy of Gerard and were in all probability also the work of the man named Fulk, who before settling in Angers was undoubtedly an itinerant painter.

¹ Jean Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures* (New York, 1959), p. 30.

PSALMUS IS AL TERIO AIX CV SOTIIS DECACAO

DAVID IS LIT C A T R O



A N E I O I S H L V A L E T A L I E R E S S E

Corbie, end of 11th century

II 11 *Gospels*, in Latin. Vellum, 135 folios, H. 10-7/8, W. 7-7/8 inches.
Amiens (Somme), Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 24.

Intently preoccupied with receiving inspiration from the lion, his apocalyptic symbol, the Saint Mark on folio 53 seems completely consumed in a violent movement and counter-movement of unseen forces. As if blown by a blast of wind of hurricane force, a drapery has been entwined with the enframing arch and the lion has been flipped upside down. Hanging on for all he is worth to a banderole firmly grasped in the saint's right hand, the lion is still able to shriek out his message to the saint. The ecstatic expression and the convulsive nervous tension of the Evangelist, rhythmically underscored in the lines and pleated planes of the draperies, seem a true and worthy heir to the emotion felt in the chattering figures of the Troyes Psalter (cat. no. 1-4) and the inner turmoil of the Evangelists in the Ebbo Gospels, both monuments of the Carolingian period. At the same time the Saint Mark in the Corbie Gospels seems prophetic of such great Romanesque sculptures as the trumeau figure of Jeremiah at Moissac carved about 1115 and the Isaiah on a stone abutment at the church of Souillac datable about 1120.

This internal yet visual tension is sustained even in the other Evangelist portraits contained in this manuscript. The

Matthew on folio 15, the Luke on folio 77 verso, and the John on folio 118 verso, while all by the same hand, emphasize different kinds of movement and stress, all within a common style. So much of what can be said of one can be said of them all—that they were conceived by some visionary personality, a singularly gifted artist and a draftsman of a very high order.

Jean Porcher saw in the style of these miniatures the influence of the Midi through the pilgrimage routes and a flow of monks and gifts to the north. Perhaps this is seen here in terms of the relief-like character of the Evangelists set forward from the color-washed backgrounds. Yet the nervous tension and involvement has deeper roots in the pre-Carolingian north, preserved perhaps at Corbie itself, but also through the later productions of English monastic scriptoria and centers on both sides of the Channel, including also the Valley of the Meuse. Hanns Swarzenski rightly juxtaposes the portrait of Luke in the Corbie Gospels with a portrait of Luke painted in Liège in the second quarter of the eleventh century which shows a similar swirling treatment of drapery and introspective tension.



THE GOVERNESS

CHAPTER THREE

Monuments of Romanesque Art and the First Gothic Vision

First quarter 12th century

III 1 *Reliquary Châsse.* Copper gilt, champlevé enamel on copper, semi-precious jewels, antique intaglios and cameo, wood core, H. 7-11/16, W. 10-5/8, D. 4-3/8 inches. Bellac (Haute-Vienne), église de Notre-Dame.

Suggesting a small architectural shrine or church, the Bellac reliquary continues a form known in France in several eighth-century or Merovingian châsses, such as the examples at Saint Bonnet-Avalouze or at Sens. Christian belief, symbol, and possibly cosmology are reflected in varying ways in all of these châsses. We are reminded of the terrestrial cube and celestial vault of Cosmas Indicopleustes, whose *Christian Topography* is preserved in a ninth-century Byzantine manuscript in the Vatican (MS. Gr. 699).

However, the symbolism of the Bellac Châsse is especially specific as pointed out by Marie-Madeleine Gauthier. It is dominated by two large, superimposed, and centered medallions—both referring to Christ. The lower one represents Christ Incarnate holding a cross, the symbol of his victory. The medallion is inscribed around the edge: IHESVS XPISTVS (reversed; XP being for CHR.). Above in the celestial realm is the nimbed lamb, indicating Christ's sacrifice, carrying a cross and a book, meaning the Word or *Logos*. The day of judgment is inferred with the apocalyptic images of the four Evangelists which flank the two medallions in the center. A hierarchy of symbols is indicated by the varying size of the medallions, the two in the center being the largest.

On the back of the Châsse are three smaller enamel medallions showing two guardian, confronted lions with vegetative motifs facing a now Christian theme of two addorsed birds nourishing themselves at the fountain or tree of life. We are reminded of the simpler and earlier confronted lions on the Capital from Poitiers (cat. no. II-4) and also of their probable iconographic and stylistic ancestry.

The gabled ends of the Châsse are decorated by enameled medallions also on the terrestrial level. One, according to Mme. Gauthier, represents the moment of Incarnation. The inscription reads: SANCTA MARIA MATER D[omi]NI. A repetition of the nimbed lamb, standing triumphant holding the cross and with the book below, is found on the other end of the Châsse. The organization of the cabochons throughout is symbolic as seen in the suggested crosses and chrism. Christian dogma, embodied in enamel, metal, and semi-precious stone, is at once visually ordered, dramatic, monumental and yet subtle and suggestive of hierarchies, visions and mysteries not fully nor immediately apparent.

The subject of many discussions, the Bellac Châsse has been assigned in recent years by Mme. Gauthier to an itinerant atelier probably working in the Limousin, but formerly at Conques, because of the stylistic connections with several enamels there. The earliest of these are the cloisonné plaques of the end of the eleventh century on the Portable Altar of Saint Foy (see cat. no. II-9). With these there are general similarities of scale, proportion, and color—the same blues, greens, turquoises, and occasional whites. The Bellac plaques are more suggestive of monumentality as shown in a comparison of the figures of Christ in the two series. However, the lambs of the Bellac Châsse strongly indicate their patrimony in proportion and outline in the lamb on the Portable Altar. As suggested by Mme. Gauthier, the dating of the Bellac Châsse depends on even closer technical and color connections with a series of champlevé enamel medallions on a large box at Conques which were remounted for Abbé Boniface, who died in 1118.



First quarter 12th century

III 2 *End of a Reliquary Châsse with Saint Paul.* Copper gilt, champlevé enamel, and two cloisonnés to indicate the eyes, H. 9-7/8, W. 4-1/2 inches. Dijon (Côte-d'Or), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Legs Trimblet 1878.

Saint Paul, identified from the deep blue enameled inscription surrounding him: SĀCTVS PAVLVS APOSTOLVS †, stands frontally enveloped in full drapery holding a book in his left hand while his other is upraised. Another age might have found little appeal in the style of this plaque but to present-day taste nurtured on Picasso and Matisse, the image of Saint Paul has been given an abstract power and monumental presence through a calculated and ordered use of enamel and metal.

The thick, slightly convex enameled plaque is one piece with the thinner frame surrounding it. The frame is decorated with a vine tendril (precursor of the late Romanesque vermiculé pattern), together with a motif which may indicate a series of bishops' crosiers.

This rarely noticed enamel may possibly have come from the same workshop which produced the Châsse from Bellac (cat. no. III-1). A comparison with the Bellac Christ medallion makes clear the similarity in the use of the champlevé enamel, including the same colors, in the rendering of drapery folds by a series of elliptical and V-shaped divisions. The Saint Paul is perhaps the more fully evolved in style and technique and this may be partly so because of its slightly

larger size. The inscription for Saint Paul is similarly more perfect and clear. The face of the apostle is very different from Christ's, perhaps also because of the slightly larger format. There may be some inspiration from an insular source as indicated by comparison with the Evangelist portraits in the Book of Kells produced at the end of the eighth century. However, the differences between the Saint Paul and the Bellac Châsse are not so great as are the similarities, and both may be the work of the same itinerate atelier working in the Limousin but formerly at Conques. The Saint Paul plaque may have been the end of a châsse whose general shape and size were similar to that of the Bellac Châsse.

The first direct confrontation of the Bellac Châsse and the Saint Paul enamel is made on the occasion of the current exhibition, at which time this attribution may seem even more plausible or may seem less certain. Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, in a recent unpublished discussion of the Saint Paul, is more inclined to localize it either in Roussillon or Catalonia, relating it to Roussillon sculpture and to Catalonian wall paintings. She dates it toward the end of the third quarter of the twelfth century.



Eleven miniatures decorate this Sacramentary, probably made for use in the Cathedral of Saint-Etienne in Limoges. Full-page miniatures appear as the frontispiece illustrations for the Canon of the Mass and the principal feast days from Advent to Pentecost. It is one of the most important and striking Romanesque manuscripts produced in France and it is certainly one of the finest products of manuscript painting in Limoges.

Emile Mâle saw eastern iconography reflected in the miniature of Christ with the two apostles and his entry into Jerusalem (folio 44 verso) which he related indirectly to the sixth-century Byzantine Gospels now at Rossano. He similarly compared the page with the Ascension (folio 84 verso) with the miniature of the same subject in a Syrian "Rabula" Gospels also of the sixth century. Certainly the Limoges Sacramentary could have taken a place of honor at the Byzantine exhibition at Athens in 1964 as a prime example of a creative use of Byzantine iconographies and compositions in medieval Europe.

Jean Porcher pointed on the other hand to the great debt the Limoges school, and in particular this Sacramentary, owed to the Ottonian manuscript productions as in the "slender, sinewy forms" in the figures, and "the pathos of their attitudes." He traced certain details of iconography to the Rhineland, Salzburg, Reichenau, and Ratisbon. He compared the *clavi*, gold rectangles which appear frequently on the draperies of the figures, with similar features in a Gospel

Lectionary of the early ninth century at Bamberg Cathedral.

All these connections do not presuppose that the Sacramentary is merely an example of eclectic purpose transplanted into the Limousin. On the contrary, its painted decoration is a creative outgrowth of its own immediate milieu. Its hot color, its vigorous, firm line, its schematic imagery, the frieze-like and relief-like character of its figures all have roots in the art of the region—the Aquitaine, and the Midi to the south. These features which are combined in every miniature of the Sacramentary give an almost strident effect and an eerie other-worldly expressiveness. Nowhere is this more clearly felt than in the visionary, monumental and awesome image of Christ in Majesty, one of two brilliant frontispieces to the Canon of the Mass (folio 58 verso). The decorative initial pages are fully in keeping with this unrelenting and powerful imagery. Their gilded neurotic knots and intertwined foliage are combined with ferocious biting animals with a movement and force which parallels the miniatures.

Like the Corbie Gospels (cat. no. II-11), the Limoges Sacramentary seems to be prophetic of what is to come. This time the manuscript painter proclaims not only sculpture, such as the tympanum at Mauriac of circa 1120 to 1130, but also metalwork and enamels whose flowering in the last decade of the twelfth century has made names like Limoges and Grandmont famous to later generations (see cat. nos. III-30, 31, 32, 35, 36).







Languedoc, Toulouse,
ca.1110–1115

III 4 *Bas-relief: The Sign of the Lion and the Ram.* Marble, H. 53-1/8,
W. 26-3/4, D. 5-1/2 inches. Inscriptions: SI/G/NU[m]
/L/E/O/NIS / S/I/G/NU[m] / ARI/E/TIS / H/OC/FU/IT/ FA/CT/UM /T/
TEMPO/RE / JULII/ CE/SA/RIS. Provenance: Saint Sernin, Toulouse.
Toulouse (Haute-Garonne), Musée des Augustins, Inv. 502.

Representing two seated, cross-legged women, holding either a lion or a ram in their laps, this strange yet imposing marble relief has long excited the interest of students of Romanesque art. It has also been embroiled in art historical controversies, some of them concerning the beginnings of monumental Romanesque sculpture in Languedoc and in Spain.

Intrinsically, as sculpture, this relief is impressive for its quality, for its organization of curvilinear and angular rhythms, its sense of relief as opposed to background, and its contrast of movement and repose. Perhaps most notable is the contrast of parts of the drapery which are rendered as great concentric ridges with those which are more ethereal and floating in character, as in the flattened, angular pleats enframing the lower legs and ankles. The sculpture is remarkable too for its contrasts of textures, of smooth, rounded surfaces as in the massive necks and jowls, with the tight curvilinear curls of tousled animal fur or wool. The smoothness of the polished background is interrupted by the sharp angular cuts of the Roman capitals of the inscription.

The relief is said to have decorated the interior entryway of the Porte de Miègerville, the portal of the south transept of the great pilgrimage church of Saint Sernin at Toulouse. The date of circa 1110 has been given to the tympanum with its dramatic Ascension of Christ. Since the figures in this tympanum and some of the capitals and corbels below are closely related stylistically to the relief in the exhibition, it is reasonable to assume that all of these carvings may be considered as roughly contemporary in date. The qualitative superiority of the relief of the Sign of the Lion and the Ram over that of the tympanum is unmistakable.

The subject of the exhibited relief, a strange if not a bizarre one, may relate to a legend which might have been given currency shortly before the creation of the relief itself. The inscription possibly gives a clue to this legend, stating that the relief was made during the time of Julius Caesar. It would seem that the pilgrims were told that the writings of Saint Jerome related strange occurrences which took place in Jerusalem, in Rome, and in Toulouse during the time of Julius

Caesar. These occurrences anagogically referred to Christ—the appearance of the lion and the ram (or lamb) signifying that Christ would reappear, a terrible judge to the sinners, a gentle benefactor to the good. The late A. Kingsley Porter assumed that this might have been one of the attempts of the canons of Saint Sernin to rival Santiago de Compostela, the great church at the end of the pilgrimage road in Spain. Porter states: "For the usual triad Compostela, Rome, Jerusalem, is substituted the triad Toulouse, Rome, Jerusalem. It was entirely natural that the miracle should have been commemorated in the sculpture of Saint Sernin. The meaning was underscored by the inscriptions. . . ." ¹ Porter, among many others, has assumed that the second part of the inscription could be translated as "Made at T[oulouse] in the time of Julius Caesar."

Certain stylistic and iconographic features of the relief undoubtedly point to Hellenistic traditions, perhaps seen through the intermediaries of Gallo-Roman stelae. Of particular interest in this inheritance is the representation of a figure with only a single shoe. The style of the relief has been compared to such early sixth-century Byzantine ivories as the Ariadne in the Cluny Museum in Paris or the similar reliefs on the pulpit of Henry II at Aachen. Such comparisons are especially apt when considering the smooth rounded treatment of the full faces and the emphasis on concentric ridges of drapery. The Toulouse relief, of course, emphasizes these features more than the Byzantine ivories.

The Toulouse relief should also be considered within the larger context of architectural sculpture for the churches of the pilgrimage roads. It has been repeatedly acknowledged that there are especially close analogies to be found in certain parts of the Puerta de las Platerías at Santiago de Compostela, namely the David, the Sign of the Lion, the figure of Luxuria, and several others. All of these reliefs seem to depend on the earlier altar reliefs, now in the ambulatory of Saint Sernin, (Continued on page 350)

¹ A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston, 1923), I, 215.



Languedoc, Toulouse,
before 1120

III 5 *Double Capital with the Wise and Foolish Virgins.* Stone, H. 12-5/8,
W. 21-5/8, D. 14-3/8 inches. Provenance: Cloister of the Cathedral
of Saint Etienne, Toulouse. Toulouse (Haute-Garonne), Musée des
Augustins, Inv. 392.

When the cloister of Saint Etienne at Toulouse, initially pillared in 1794, was finally destroyed between 1812 and 1817, the Wise and Foolish Virgins Capital, along with some other sculptures from the same cloister, was moved to the Musée des Augustins. The major part of the capitals have been lost. The extant sculptures of the cloister seem to be contemporary with the second atelier of the church of Notre-Dame de la Daurade and datable before 1120. A drawing of the seventeenth century and an engraving of the eighteenth century, as well as early accounts, give some idea of the disposition and extent of the cloister.

The Capital illustrated here, actually a Double Capital, was intended to be set upon paired columns and in turn was surmounted by a horizontal impost block, the intermediary support for the cloister arcade. The impost blocks preserved from the cloister are variously carved, some with foliate rinceaux, stylized acanthus, or three-dimensional fretwork. The impost block associated in recent years with the Wise and Foolish Virgins Capital is carved with this fretwork.

The bride and bridegroom are seated at one end of the Capital. They are shown as Christ, crossed-nimbed and holding a crown, and Ecclesia triumphant with a scepter. The bridegroom extends his left hand to the first of the five wise virgins who are gracefully disposed, some cross-legged, along the long side and part of the other end of the Capital. They are nimbed, unveiled, and they bear budding scepters instead of lamps. The foolish virgins are separated from this sequence by the closed door and a budding tree, possibly a reference to the Tree of Life. Emile Mâle proposed that this Capital was a direct illustration of one of the early liturgical dramas which elaborated upon the New Testament parable. Joan Evans has suggested the Sponsus play from Saint Martial at Limoges as this immediate source.

The side with the foolish virgins, as first recorded by Meyer Schapiro, is unfinished and consequently is a rare document which can tell us much about the carving techniques and purposes of the sculptor and, by inference, of the carvers of other capitals in Languedoc, as at Moissac. Schapiro states: "The cutting is sufficiently advanced to enable us to judge of the composition of the figures, their relative mass, the directions of the main lines, and the gestures. But no features are visible. The heads are simple eggs, the hair, broad unstriated surfaces in high relief. It is remarkable that the shoes have been carried further than other parts of the figures, perhaps because of their simple shape. It may be inferred . . . that . . . the sculptor drew upon the smoothed surface of the stone the generalized outlines of the figures and cut away the intervals between them to establish their full salience. The figure was not completed part by part . . . the capital was chiseled as a whole, stage by stage, excepting the final details, which necessarily implied some order of succession. The background was smoothed early in the work. In this method are implied a simple relation of salient masses and hollows and a preconception of the capital as a decorative, plastic whole."¹

This plastic whole, underscored by Schapiro's analysis, is important in relation to the other capitals, the columns, and the architecture of the entire original cloister. The clustered tubular forms and series of ovoid heads, many framed against *nimbi*, in a unified yet varied rhythmic progression, reflect the paired columns of the cloister. They become, so to speak, a structural flower between key supporting members of the architecture. This general decorative and expressive function within the architectural whole is especially characteristic of much Romanesque sculpture.

¹ Meyer Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac," *Art Bulletin*, XIII (1931), 348, fig. 128.



Provence, Avignon, ca.1160

III 6 *Capital: Scenes from the Story of Samson.* Carrara marble, H. 12-1/2,
W. (at top) 10-1/2, W. (at base) 7 inches. Provenance: from
the Cloister of the Cathédrale of Notre-Dame-des-Doms in Avignon. Cambridge
(Massachusetts), Fogg Art Museum, Meta and Paul J. Sachs Collection.

The late A. Kingsley Porter, in his discussion of the Samson Capital, stated that Pope Hadrian IV wrote to the canons of Pisa in 1156, commanding the brothers of Saint-Ruf of Avignon who were traveling to Carrara for marble for their cloister. The Samson Capital and several other capitals from the Cloister of the Cathédrale Notre-Dame-des-Doms were also carved in Carrara marble, perhaps taken from the same shipment sent back for the cloister of Saint-Ruf. Kenneth Conant has dated the Cathedral in the general period of circa 1140 to 1160. The chapter house was mentioned for the first time in 1153, possibly having been just completed. The cloister may have been begun by then, but the capitals, including the Samson Capital, were obviously carved after the arrival of the Carrara marble.

The cloister was partially dismantled in the seventeenth century; the remainder met near-oblivion at the time of the Revolution. The several preserved elements and fragments are housed today in the Musée Calvet, the Louvre, and the Fogg Museum. The Samson Capital is without doubt the finest and most interesting remnant of the group.

The four faces illustrate Samson wrestling with the lion, Samson carrying off the Gates of Gaza, Delilah cutting off Samson's hair, and Samson and the Philistines. Each of these scenes is depicted with vivid imagery and an eye to essentials. Each is compactly composed and is bracketed by an arch above and a pearl-bordered border below. Each is given movement in terms of mass, planes, and line. The suspended architectural excerpts, familiar since eleventh-century manuscripts, help tell the story. A balcony is provided for the crowded Philistines; foliated spandrels are given as a setting for Samson's struggle with the lion. The sense of scale, as indicated by the guilloche pattern, the pearl-bordered borders, the imitation ashlar masonry, and the arcaded turrets, is restricted and almost delicate. The surface is rich in the play of light and dark, partly as the result of the liberal use of the drill. Yet there is a sense of monumentality in the figure of Samson, especially in the scene where he is battling the lion. There is also a certain psychological fervor expressed in the inclined head and intent gaze of this same figure of Samson. Hieronymus Bosch would have approved of the evil grimaces on two of the assistants to Delilah.



Burgundy, Cîteaux,
beginning of 12th century

III 7 *Moralia in Job*, by Saint Gregory, vol. I, in Latin. Vellum, 93 folios,
H. 13-7/8, W. 9-1/2 inches. Dijon (Côte-d'Or), Bibliothèque
municipale, MS. 168.

Dijon MS. 168–170 presents books i through xvi of Saint Gregory's *Moralia in Job*. According to the colophon at the end of the third volume, the decoration and script were completed in 1111 at Cîteaux under the rule of Stephen Harding, a former English monk from Sherborne who was abbot at Cîteaux from 1109 to 1133. A fourth volume (Dijon MS. 173) of different format but with similar decoration was added a little later. As a whole the *Moralia in Job* contains the diverse modes of decoration observable in another work, a four-volume Bible, also made under Stephen Harding's rule. It is believed that the abbot himself may have completed a number of the decorations in both the *Moralia* and the Bible. The remainder were completed by the monks at Cîteaux, some of them also being English. Harding's presence at Cîteaux and these manuscripts demonstrate another instance of the importation of English styles and pictorial peculiarities into France. An earlier occasion was observed at Saint Omer (see cat. no. II-1).

Some of the most appealing decorations are the pen-drawn initials with light wash-like coloring which are made with great ingenuity, humor, and sometimes irony. These initials are constructed with human figures whose limbs and bodies form the salient parts of each initial. The observations of nature, the sense for gentle caricature, the expressive linear character of these initials owe a great deal to English manuscript developments. On the other hand these features are reinvigorated on very fertile soil, especially considering the French tradition of inhabited initials dating back to those of the late eighth century at Corbie.

The frontispiece of the first volume, beginning a letter from Gregory to Leandro, Bishop of Seville, presents one of these initials in a more formal context and fully painted manner. Here we may note a certain gigantism, referred to by Carl Nordenfalk. The great R of *Reverentissimo*, made up of two superimposed figures battling with two entwined

dragons, is framed in an English type of trellised acanthus. The colors of this great frontispiece page are clear and striking. The imagery is vigorous and full of movement.

There is fantasy here combined with certain naturalistic details. The lower figure crouches, legs spread apart, under the weight of the figure above. The smaller dragon clings onto the neck of the larger one in a squirrel-like fashion as he bites the shield of the larger figure.

The combatants are modeled in shades of the color of the respective areas. This shading gives them a relief character. Repeated concentric ridges of the pleats of drapery set in motion a rhythmic force which pervades the whole ensemble. There is a close analogy in this rhythmic yet excerpted three-dimensionality in the architectural sculpture of the period, as evident, for example, in the Cluny Saint Peter and the Autun Angel (cat. nos. III-8, 10).

Other decorations of the exhibited volume are more characteristic of the tinted drawings, as they are not given the same degree of finish, and are therefore not so grandiose. These include the scene of Saint Gregory kneeling and presenting his work to Bishop Leandro (folio 5) and a portrait of Job (folio 7).

One of the paradoxes of the Middle Ages is the production of such magnificently decorated manuscripts at Cîteaux and later at Pontigny, both Cistercian monasteries. One of the most famous Cistercians was Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153), who exerted enormous influence for church reforms. Bernard was especially outspoken against the luxurious and costly church furnishings and decorations which he found distracting and of little use. Bernard queried: "Why lavish bright hues upon that which must needs be trodden under foot? . . . what are such things as these to you poor men, you monks, you spiritual folk?"¹

¹ Elizabeth G. Holt, *A Documentary History of Art*, I (New York, 1957), p. 21.

Sanctissimi Ecclesiae Doctoris Gregorii Papæ
ad Leandrum Episcopum Hispalensem Epistola
in expositionem libri Job.



EVE

RENTIS
SIMO
ET SCESSIMO
FR̄I LEANDRO
CO E P̄O:
GREGORI

SERVVS

SERVORV D̄I;

Burgundy, Cluny, ca.1109–1115.
Sculptural fragments
from main portal of
third Abbey at Cluny

- III 8 *Saint Peter.* Limestone, with traces of gesso and paint, H. 28-1/2 inches. Provenance: Probably from the north spandrel. Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 20.254.
- III 9 *Figure.* Limestone, H. 6-3/4 inches. Provenance: From a capital on the north jamb. Cluny (Soane-et-Loire), Musée Ochier.

Each century has its wanton destructions; no nation has been immune from them. The nineteenth century and France were no exceptions. At the head of the list among the losses was the appalling demolition of 1798–1823 of nearly all of the great third church at Cluny, the abbey of Hugh of Semur, Abbot from 1049 to 1109. All that remain today are the south arm of the transept and the elements and sculptural fragments preserved in museums. Yet through the persistent efforts of Kenneth J. Conant and his associates, working since 1928 under the auspices of the Medieval Academy of America, it has been possible to recreate intellectually what has been lost and near oblivion. By means of excavations, reconstructions, plans, models, and renewed searches through archives and old records, we can now ascertain much of the scope, grandeur, and program of this lost edifice and understand its extremely influential role in the architectural developments even beyond its native Burgundy.

Two great sculptural ensembles within Cluny III are now known, where formerly there had been only one—the famous eight large capitals from the sanctuary, datable between 1088 and 1095 and the chief treasures today of the Musée Ochier. The second group is the sculptures of the main portal, whose reconstruction by Professor Conant and Helen Kleinschmidt depends upon excavated fragments and an analysis of early descriptions and old engravings. This portal, carved some fifteen or twenty years later than the sanctuary capitals, was also one of the key elements in the conception of the third abbey, even though it was begun and completed after Abbot Hugh's death in 1109 under his successor Pontius, Abbot from 1109 to 1122. The portal was dominated by a tympanum with Christ in a mandorla surrounded by angels, the symbols of the Evangelists, and the Elders of the Apocalypse. Below on the lintel were the figures of the Virgin, Apostles, and Elders flanked by scenes of the Marys at the Tomb, the Harrowing of Hell, and the Ascension. The spandrels contained four of the apostles. Since the church was dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul, these two apostles were probably so given a place of honor, Saint Peter

in the north spandrel at the right hand of the Christ in Majesty below. Two fragments from this great portal are in the exhibition, the Saint Peter with his key from the north spandrel and the smaller piece from a capital in the north jamb below.

The Saint Peter fragment, in the collection of the Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design since 1920, was conclusively identified by Miss Kleinschmidt in 1947. Most of the upper half of the full-length figure of the Saint is preserved. The Saint was originally about five feet tall. He was turned inward toward the central axis of the portal. His left arm and hand, now lost, presumably were carved in low relief in the background of the block of which the entire figure was cut and which has also disappeared. The original placement of this figure was forty-five feet above the pavement. Miss Kleinschmidt has suggested that the Saint Peter was carved by the same sculptor who did the large heads of the elders in the fourth archivolt below.

The capital fragment from the Musée Ochier is the upper part of a seated figure holding a book. It was once perhaps part of the only figured capital of the portal, a capital said to have five such figures according to Professor Conant.

Fragments such as this should be appreciated for both their inherent qualities and their relationship to the larger whole. Without a grasp of the larger context, which in the present case is archaeological, there is danger of absurd aesthetic judgments and irrelevant palaver. The larger context explains the point of view from which the exhibited fragments were seen and it tells us something of what they as fragments have lost.

Yet the fragments in turn suggest something of the original magnificence and clarity of the entire portal. In their details they embody a system of modeling of nearly three-dimensional figures in terms of planes accented by linear divisions, often grouped in a roughly concentric fashion sug-
(Continued on page 351)



Burgundy, Autun, ca.1130,
by Gislebertus

III 10 *Voussoir Figure of a Censing Angel.* Limestone, H. 23, W. 16-1/2 inches. Provenance: Portal of the north transept door of Saint Lazare at Autun. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection, Purchase, 47.101.16.

Gislebertus, the sculptor who signed the great west tympanum of the Cathedral of Saint Lazare at Autun, undoubtedly did most of the sculptural work throughout the rest of the church as recently demonstrated by Denis Grivot and George Zarnecki. We can assume with good reason that Gislebertus carved this exquisite fragment or voussoir taken from the mutilated doorway to the north transept of the same cathedral. Other fragments are preserved, the best known being the incomparable and languid nude figure of Eve depicted at the moment of her temptation and fall. This figure, formerly part of the lintel, the Angel Voussoir, and several other fragments all owe their dispersal to the enlargement in 1766 of the north doorway, the principal entrance to the church.

Despite its fragmentary character, the Angel Voussoir is to be valued for the unique glimpse it gives of Gislebertus' subtle art. He has presented an elongated, graceful figure of an angel, perhaps holding a censer, completely suspended in space, poised in movement yet responsive to some unseen force. At least one of his wings pushes downward against this force as if it were upushing air, whereas the draperies about the feet are caught up in it. The figure has been given a certain three-dimensionality without betraying its role as relief. It is enveloped in a rhythm of repeated concentric

curves of the multiple pleats, accented and varied by the beaded borders. Gislebertus has made stone light and airy; he has given us a vision of an angel of great elegance and beauty. A poem in stone, this portion of the fabric of Saint Lazare allows us to contemplate Gislebertus' mastery in one of its less harsh and more exquisite moments. While Gislebertus seemed to owe a debt to his probable early training at Cluny, the Angel, as a mature work, shows that he has begun to express an extraordinary freedom which culminated in his signed work over the west portal.

The movement of the human figure, its vibrant qualities, and its responsiveness to emotional and spiritual forces have already been observed in varying ways in several earlier works of art—for example in the Carolingian Psalter, or in the late eleventh-century Corbie Gospels (cat. nos. I-4, II-11). To these can be added the Angel, who waves his purifying censer towards the multiple subjects of the tympanum which it helped to frame, a tympanum which we know included at least the Assumption of the Virgin and the Raising of Lazarus.¹

¹ Denis Grivot and George Zarnecki, *Gislebertus, Sculptor of Autun* (New York, 1961), p. 146: "The object held by the angel, which Terret took to be a musical instrument, is probably a censer."



III 11 *Engaged Capital: The Feast of Belshazzar* (Daniel 5: 1–5). Stone, H. 26-3/4, W. 15-3/4, D. 15-3/4 inches. Provenance: Tribune of the narthex, L'église de la Madeleine. Vézelay (Yonne), Musée lapidaire de l'église de la Madeleine.

The scene of the grandiose feast of Belshazzar from the Biblical story of Daniel is reduced to its barest essentials in the Vézelay Capital. The Babylonian monarch, designated by his royal mantle and crown (now damaged), is seated at the banquet table flanked by only two members of his court. One of these table companions turns slightly to point out the phantom hand appearing from the clouds and writing with its finger on the center arch of the enframing arcade. In accordance with the twelfth-century writer, Rupert of Deutz, and the modern interpretation of Abbé Terret, this prelude to the fall of Babylon may be read as a prefiguration of the destruction of the city of the devil, which would occur on the day of judgment.

The original position for this Engaged Capital was against a pier on the south side of the tribune level of the narthex of the great pilgrimage church at Vézelay. It was not far from the large central portal to the nave of the church itself. This portal, datable circa 1122, has been unforgettable to generations of medieval and modern pilgrims alike for its great tympanum with its monumental Christ, one of the finest tympanum sculptures of the Romanesque period. Lacking the grandeur of this larger relief, the Capital is to be treasured for its more intimate character, clear narrative purpose, and unified composition. The simplified details of architecture, costume, and appointments of the table each play an important role in this modest drama. The relief is composed especially by means of repeated curves. A rhythmic beat set in the triple arches is picked up in the repeated concentric pleats on the torsos and the curves in the opposite direction made by the folds of the table cover and the draperies about

the legs seen below. The table itself, echoing these curves on a larger scale, follows the contour of the Capital at its lower edge. This "table curve" also serves to gird together all of the vertical and angular elements of the composition, legs, torsos, arms, and columns. Such a compositional use of a table in a narrative relief is not unique. It can be observed in other Romanesque capitals, as in the roughly contemporary capital with the Last Supper at Issoire. Notably it is not used in the capital showing the Feast of the Rich Man carved on one of the nave capitals at Vézelay.

The story of Daniel was the subject of a mid-twelfth-century musical play written at Beauvais for use during the Christmas season. This was a liturgical drama and, according to Margaret B. Freeman, there is some certainty that it was performed "as part of the liturgy for Matins, the Office celebrated a few hours after midnight which concluded with *Te Deum*," as does also the *Play of Daniel*.¹ The play was revived for the first time in 1958 in a brilliant production by the New York Pro Musica at the Cloisters in New York. The scene depicted in the Vézelay Capital came to life in terms of actual movement, music, and pageantry in this revival. Another episode in the story of Daniel is presented in the Cleveland Museum's Capital (cat. no. III-12). The popularity of the Daniel story in mid-twelfth-century French architectural decoration may have been due in part to such liturgical dramas as the Beauvais *Play of Daniel*.

¹ Margaret B. Freeman, *The Play of Daniel at the Cloisters* (Decca Records, n.d.), p. 12.

3



Basin of the Loire,
mid-12th century

III 12 *Engaged Capital: Daniel in the Lions' Den.* Limestone, H. 29,
W. 25-1/2, D. 14-3/8 inches. The Cleveland Museum of Art,
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 62.247.

The portion of the Daniel story in which the prophet is thrown into the lions' den was particularly popular in the sculptural decoration of French Romanesque churches. Several quite different iconographical variations have been isolated by Rosalie B. Green.¹ Most of these are symmetrically and frontally organized and non-narrative in character. Very few examples continue the Early Christian representation as "a youthful, standing orant figure." More often than not, Daniel is shown as an older, bearded man. The poses he takes vary—sometimes he is shown as a seated orant, as in the capital from the Cloister of La Daurade in Toulouse. On other occasions he is shown seated in a meditative pose resting his head on his hand, as in the example full of pathos which is at the base of the portal of Saint-Trophime at Arles. In a third variation, he is represented as a triumphant seated prophet, raising only one hand and holding a book in the other. A choir capital at Soulac (Gironde) and the Cleveland Capital are examples.

Dr. Green has also pointed out that in actuality there are two Daniel stories, one which appears in the Bible, in Daniel 6:1-23, and the other, Bel and the Dragon, 23-40 in the Apocrypha. Whereas the two stories differ in details, the tendency of the Romanesque sculptors was to treat them as one, taking unique elements from both stories and combining them in a single composition. The Cleveland Capital seems to agree with the Biblical account in presenting Daniel with the lions and the angel who came to shut the lions' mouths. The angel is shown above Daniel to his left. An interior place is suggested by the suspended architectural excerpts. The prophet Habakkuk who came with food according to the other version is not shown. Yet this second story specified seven lions, a detail upon which the Bible was vague. There are seven lions on the Cleveland Capital. Three face forward on each side. The seventh on Daniel's right faces the back of the Capital.

¹ Rosalie B. Green, *Daniel in the Lions' Den as an Example of Romanesque Typology* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1948).

Daniel was included in the twelfth-century Christmas Eve *Procession of Prophets*, which in turn has been said to have been "an amplification of a sixth-century sermon at the night Office of Christmas. Because of his prophecy of the coming of the Son of Man, Daniel was esteemed as the great announcer of the birth of the Messiah."² Thus the Cleveland Daniel is represented *simultaneously* according to the conflated stories of the lions' den and also as Daniel the prophesier.

Dr. Green has suggested that the bearded, enthroned figure of Daniel raising his right hand and holding his book in his left resembles the representations of Christ in Majesty and concludes that Daniel often takes on the type of the judging Christ, an interpretation confirmed by the early twelfth-century writings of Rupert of Deutz. Therefore the Daniel capitals of this type, like the Cleveland and the Soulac examples, are important in tracing the beginnings of typology in medieval art.

However, the Cleveland Capital is more valuable than such iconographical considerations can allow. Its sculptural quality raises it above the qualitative level of the bulk of the other Daniel sculptural representations. Indeed, because of its imposing size, the convincing mass and the ferocious animation of the lions, the fanciful but compositionally important architectural canopy, and the nobility of the figure of Daniel himself, conceived in terms of the rhythmic organization of drapery folds echoed in the curls of the hair and beard, we find that we have here a capital which can be compared with the best sculptured capitals of any subject dating in the second and third quarters of the twelfth century. The probable date for the Cleveland work must be based on such stylistic analogies. A date in the middle of this century seems most likely.

There are two possible origins for this Capital, both in the central Loire area. The first has been proposed by Dr. (Continued on page 352)

² Rembert Weakland, *The Play of Daniel, the Music of the Play* (Decca Records, n.d.), p. 4.



Ile-de-France,
Saint-Denis, ca.1140

III 13 *Chalice of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis.* Sardonyx (agate), gold, silver gilt, gems, and pearls. H. 7-17/32 inches. Provenance: Treasury of the Abbey of Saint-Denis (until 1793). Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection.

"Also, with the devotion due to the blessed Denis, we acquired vessels of gold as well as of precious stones for the service of the Table of God, in addition to those which the kings of the Franks and those devoted to the church had donated for this service. . . . We . . . procured . . . a precious chalice out of one solid sardonyx, which [word] derives from 'sardius' and 'onyx'; in which one [stone] the sard's red hue, by varying its property, so strongly contrasts with the blackness of the onyx that one property seems to be bent on trespassing upon the other."¹ So wrote Suger, Abbot of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis from 1122 to 1151. Surely we can marvel as he did at the beauty of this single piece of sardonyx cut and externally fluted in Roman times with the sole aim of bringing out the dazzling movement of the several hues caught within it.

Suger's whole being was devoted to glorifying his church and his king, and so he had the sardonyx cup mounted in silver and gold with precious jewels and pearls so that it could be used in the Mass within the Royal Abbey. We might wonder how much of the design of this magnificent adaptation was his own command.

Certainly Suger's Chalice demonstrates a respect for Byzantine tradition. Its over-all shape and proportion are similar to Byzantine chalices made in the previous two centuries in Constantinople. Byzantine work had long been admired in the West. The most spectacular assemblage and taste for Byzantine objects in the West is at Saint Mark's in Venice, and this came as a result of the sack of Constantinople in 1204. Within this group are numerous chalices, and there are several of the tenth and eleventh century date which are especially comparable to Suger's Chalice with its silver-gilt conical foot, graced with busts of holy persons and surmounted by a knob, a bowl of semi-precious stone, and a rim of silver gilt. Even the one remaining medallion bust, that of Christ as the Pantocrator, is Byzantine in inspiration.

¹ Suger, *De Rebus in administratione sua gestis*, translated by Erwin Panofsky in *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), pp. 77, 79.

Comparison with the Byzantine chalices, however, does not in any way diminish our appreciation of the exquisite mastery and distinctive perfection of form and detail which are evident in Suger's Chalice. Each medallion of the foot is set amidst filigree volutes of double-notched wire and four gems or pearls making a cross. Large gems, alternating with smaller ones on the massive knob, are also enframed by similar filigree work. The transition from the knob itself to the foot and also upward to the sardonyx bowl is made by a ring of pearls set high in bezels. The bowl is bracketed between two graceful, tapered handles, incised with a stylized acanthus and studded with gems and pearls. Functional in several other ways, these handles both protect the cup and hold the upper rim or lip to it. This rim again combines a sequence of gems surrounded by filigree. Each of the gems is separated from the next by paired pearls.

There are three other objects which are stylistically related to the Suger Chalice and were also formerly in the treasury at Saint-Denis. Two of these are partially described by Suger himself. The first is the rock-crystal vase given by Eleanor of Aquitaine to her then-husband, King Louis VII, who in turn presented it to Abbot Suger for the Abbey. The second was a sardonyx ewer. Both objects, now in the Galerie d'Apollon in the Louvre, have the silver-gilt mounts with gems, pearls, and filigree ordered by Suger. The handle of the ewer is related to those of the Chalice. The rim of the ewer and one band of the base of the Eleanor vase are mounted with gems set off by paired pearls and filigree in a manner similar to that in the Chalice. The ensemble of an encrusted silver-gilt and gem setting for an antique container is a concept which they hold in common. All of these features are found in a third object—a scalloped agate oval bowl or *nef* in sardonyx with related silver-gilt mounts and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Small paired cloisonné enamels replace the paired pearls in setting off the large gems. Although the *nef* appears in Félibien's engraving of 1706 of the fourth armoire in the Saint-Denis treasury along with (Continued on page 353)



Ile-de-France, ca.1140–1155.
Sculptures from Royal Abbey
of Saint-Denis

- III 14 *Head of an Old Testament King.* Limestone, H. 13-3/4, W. (of crown) 8 inches. Provenance: Jamb of one of the portals of the façade of Saint-Denis. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 27.22.
- III 15 *Column Figure of an Old Testament King.* Limestone, H. 46 inches. Provenance: Cloister of Saint-Denis. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Pulitzer Bequest, 20.157.

According to Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, the three façade portals of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis were decorated on their jambs by a series of columnar figures including a total of sixteen "kings" and four "queens." Montfaucon's invaluable drawings and the engravings published from them in 1729 preserve some idea of what these sculptures looked like, as all trace of them disappeared during the French Revolution and the restorations which followed in the early nineteenth century. Marvin C. Ross was the first to convincingly identify the two monumental heads in the Walters Art Gallery and a third in the Fogg Museum with three of the figures represented by Montfaucon, an identification now universally accepted.

Saint-Denis became the church of Abbot Suger, who was advisor to Louis VI and Louis VII. Suger completely rebuilt the church and in so doing initiated important architectural features characteristic of the Gothic style and indeed ushered in the Gothic style. He brought many artists from far and wide to work on the various projects for the greater glory of God, his Abbey, and the monarchy. His love of the precious and exotic can be seen in his Chalice (cat. no. III-13). The importance he gave to the great façade as an entry not only for kings but for all who came to worship can be understood in the verses he wrote for the now destroyed great gilded bronze doors:

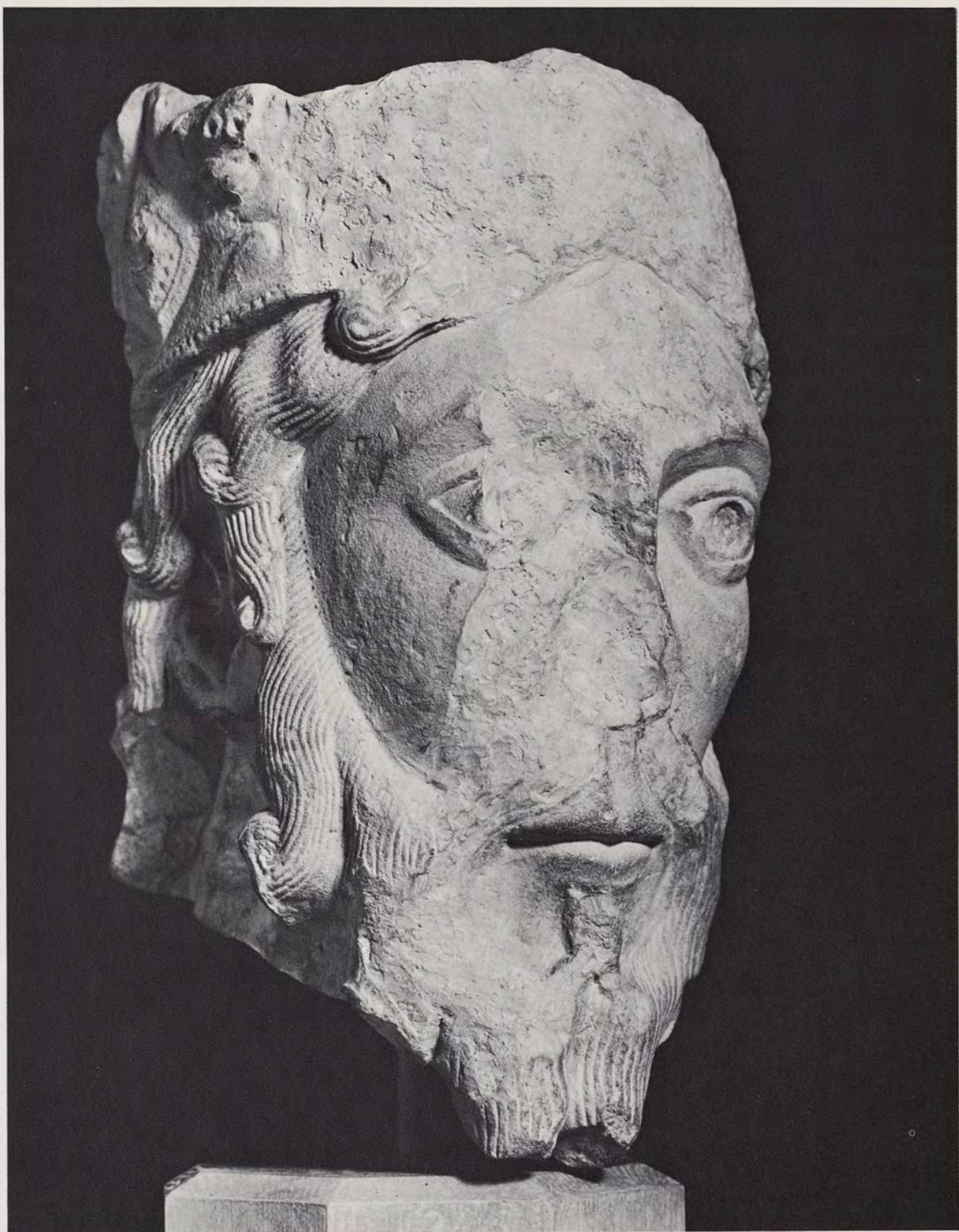
Whoever thou art, if thou seekest to extol the glory of these doors,
Marvel not at the gold and the expense but at the craftsmanship of the work.
Bright is the noble work; but, being nobly bright, the work
Should brighten the minds, so that they may travel, through
the true lights,
To the True Light where Christ is the true door.
In what manner it be inherent in this world the golden door
defines:

The dull mind rises to truth through that which is material
And, in seeing this light, is resurrected from its former
submersion.¹

The three heads from Saint-Denis now in the United States were originally in close proximity to these doors—if not part of the same portal, then close by on the portals to the left or right. Ross dated them just before the dedication June 9, 1140. Marcel Aubert felt that they might have been carved according to Suger's plan, but after his death in 1151, perhaps as late as 1155. Suger wrote so much of his various projects that we can hardly complain that he did not comment on his façade program including the Old Testament kings and prophets which eventually stood for a while in measured silence on either side of the three great entries to the royal shrine. Perhaps the reason for his silence was that they had not yet been carved. In any case the assemblage of figures and the iconographical totality of the whole façade, making a link between Old and New Testaments, had important ramifications, some still art-historically controversial, in the contemporary and subsequent variations found in the larger sequence of Gothic cathedrals.

Considered together, the two Walters heads hint at a stylistic development moving from the Romanesque towards the Gothic. They both retain the monumental, frontal, and almost severe characteristics of the Romanesque style. The large eyes with their settings for lead fillings to represent the irises and pupils, as suggested by Ross, are a clearly Romanesque feature. Yet within the Romanesque framework there are nuances of modeling, as in the lips, a prelude to the developments which are exploited by fully Gothic figures to

¹ Suger, *De Rebus in administratione sua gestis*, translated by Erwin Panofsky in *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), pp. 47, 49.



such an extent that they break away almost independently from both the columns and the architecture. Claus Sluter's eloquent portal figures at Champmol represent the extreme ends this development can take.

Of the two Baltimore heads, the example illustrated here seems most predominantly Romanesque in character. It stands, despite its terrible losses, as a reminder of an eloquence of another sort. It has within its untampered surfaces a rhythmic order of line, texture, and plane which is expressive of a nobility and monumentality which seems to echo even Suger's own cadences as well as his aspirations.

Montfaucon also made drawings of three column sculptures in the Cloister of Saint-Denis. Vera K. Ostoia identified the Column Figure lent by the Metropolitan Museum with one of these drawings. All of the details of costume agree between the drawing and this sculpture, the only full-length figure preserved from the entire architectural complex of Saint-Denis. At the time that Montfaucon made his drawing, the sculpture was probably incorporated in the row of columns of the thirteenth-century cloister which had replaced the early Romanesque cloister. According to Miss Ostoia, Dom Plancher, in his *Histoire de Bourgogne* (1739), re-

ferred to the statues of kings in the Saint-Denis cloister and compared them with the portal figures of Saint Bénigne in Dijon (see cat. no. III-16). From his subsequent descriptions, considered together with Montfaucon's drawing, we can achieve an idea of what the two other figures in the cloister look like. Only one of these and also the Metropolitan figure are nimbed. It is not known whether these figures were originally part of the Romanesque cloister and similar in this respect to Cleveland's Column Figure from the cloister at Châlons-sur-Marne (cat. no. III-27). According to Miss Ostoia, they also could have come from the portal leading from the abbey to the cloister or from a connecting porch.

In style, the Column Figure from the Metropolitan Museum must be compared with the Montfaucon drawings of the portal figures at Saint-Denis and with the Baltimore heads. While the scale is different, there is a common denominator especially between the two works shown here, as seen in the grooving of the hair and beard. Yet the smaller figure is more exquisite and less monumental. His robes, in all of the details, are treated with a precision and elegance which recalls some of the contemporary, yet better known, Old Testament figures on the Royal Portal at Chartres.



Burgundy, Dijon,
ca.1145 (Quarré)

III 16 *Head of Saint Bénigne*. Stone, H. 13-3/8 inches. Provenance: Trumeau of the central portal of the façade of the abbey church of Saint Bénigne, Dijon (Côte-d'Or), Musée archéologique.

The fire of 1137, which destroyed part of Dijon, necessitated the reconstruction of the abbey church of Saint Bénigne. This reconstruction was sufficiently completed to allow the rededication of the structure in 1147 by Pope Eugene III in the presence of Louis VII, King of France. The principal portal contained in its tympanum an enthroned Christ with evangelist symbols, seraphim, and figures representing the Church and the Synagogue. An historiated lintel was supported below by a trumeau which had attached to it a monumental figure of Saint Bénigne. Eight jamb figures, and above, four concentric rows of figured voussoirs completed the portal. This ensemble, destroyed in 1794, is recorded in the engraving of Dom Urbain Plancher published in 1739.

The Head of Saint Bénigne from the trumeau, shown here, has a quiet, restrained, almost brooding power. The features are handled simply, as seen in the lightly grooved moustache, beard, and parted hair, in the incised edges of the slightly swelling eyes, in the powerful brow and gently swelling cheekbones, and in the deep grooves of the bonnet edged with a geometric decoration. The Walters Head from Saint-Denis (cat. no. III-14), by contrast, seems lyrical and has less of the feeling of unrelenting mass and introspective strength evident in the Head of Saint Bénigne.

Pierre Quarré has discussed the four tympana which were once a part of the abbey church of Saint Bénigne, considering three of them to be the products of one workshop active between 1137 and 1147. M. Quarré related the extant products of this workshop to sculptures produced after 1135 for Abbot Suger at Saint-Denis, such as the stone retable found by Sumner Crosby and the cloister figures first compared with the Saint Bénigne portal figures by Dom Plancher in 1739 (see cat. no. III-15). M. Quarré suggests the possibility that some of the Saint-Denis sculptors came to work in Dijon, and he dated the principal portal just prior to 1147. This date has been questioned by Louis Grodecki; it has been rejected by Willibald Sauerländer and Adolf Katzenellenbogen, as well as by the cataloguers of the *Cathédrales*

exhibition of 1962, all of whom favored a date within the third quarter of the century.

A revealing comparison with another, smaller head from Saint-Denis, not shown here, but with a bonnet very much like that of Saint Bénigne's, was made in the *Cathédrales* exhibition, at which time both heads were assigned the later date. This confrontation suggested that the Saint Bénigne Head contained a more somber power, possibly an even more archaic presence, than the Saint-Denis fragment. Returning to the parallel comparison with the Walters fragment, here between two heads of nearly the same size, we might well wonder which head had precedence. This is hardly a simple query testing our own abilities at stylistic differentiation. The answer is crucial because it might threaten one or more assumptions in the carefully conceived views of the transition between late Romanesque and early Gothic façade sculptural programs including column figures and the problems of a relative chronology. Marcel Aubert questioned the early dating of the column figures of the façade at Saint-Denis, of which he acknowledged the Walters Head as a fragment. He preferred to date the destroyed ensemble of column figures, known through Montfaucon's drawings and the extant heads, after Abbot Suger's death in 1151 and as late as 1155. Tied up with these problems is the role of the Royal Portal at Chartres, a subject also much in debate. Some of the difficulties arise from the fact that recorded dedication dates are not always a firm basis for dating the completion of the respective façade programs. Also, two vital elements of the puzzle are missing—most of the actual and original sculptures of the Saint-Denis portal and nearly all of the sculptures from the principal portal of Saint Bénigne. The present confrontation of the Saint Bénigne Head from Dijon and the Saint-Denis Head from Baltimore provides an opportunity, not only to enjoy two great artistic fragments but also to consider anew some vexing art-historical problems.



Ile-de-France (?), ca.1140 (?)
to end of 12th century

III 17 *A Bishop.* Stone with traces of paint, H. 45-1/4, W. 11, D. 10-5/8
inches. Provenance: Church of Notre-Dame-de-la-Comtale at
Bourges. Bourges (Cher), Musée du Berry.

A standing, nimbed Bishop faces frontally, blessing the on-looker with his right hand and holding a crosier, now broken, in his left. His head is strongly modeled; it has a certain dry, symmetrical, and heavy power. The Bishop's chasuble, stole, miter, and other accoutrements are rendered in considerable detail and these details agree with those found on contemporary bishop's seals.

The Bishop and a companion figure of a queen are each one piece with a flat background slab of stone which bends forward at an angle to support the feet. Because of this and because of the relatively small scale of the two figures, both carved by the same artist, they could not have been jamb sculptures for a church portal. Instead they probably were part of a pier decoration—if separately perhaps even as trumeau figures—or more probably they were used against a corner pier of a cloister in a manner similar to those at the cloisters of Saint Trophime at Arles.

Clearly the style of the two figures has no close relationship with extant Romanesque sculptures in Bourges. René

Crozet has suggested that the work was done by "un atelier septentrional" and was imported into Berry. In support of this suggestion, we might compare the carving of the Bishop's head with the small heads now in the Louvre, said to come from the voussoirs of the main west portals at Saint-Denis. These heads, unlike the Walters Head of an Old Testament King (cat. no. III-14), have a similar heavy, dry, innocuous character conveyed in terms of the large bulbous eyes, heavy brow, low forehead, flaring nose, and grooved beard and moustache. This comparison would suggest that the Bourges figures may not be as late as the end of the century, as they have been dated in recent exhibitions. Instead they might be considered as contemporaneous to the voussoir heads in the Louvre, and since these seem to have come from Saint-Denis they have been dated circa 1140.¹

¹ See Marcel Aubert and Michele Beaulieu, *Description raisonné des sculptures du moyen-âge*, I: *Moyen âge* (Paris, 1950), nos. 52–55.



III 18 *Capital Fragment with Scenes from the Story of Daniel(?)*. Limestone, H. 15, W. 18, D. 10 inches. Provenance: Abbey of Coulombs, near Chartres. Kansas City (Missouri), William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, 55.44.

Robert Branner has proved that the Nelson Gallery half-capital belongs with the remaining portion in the Louvre and that it, like the Louvre fragment, was in the vicinity of the ruins of the Abbey of Coulombs (Eure-et-Loire) in 1863.¹ This once-complete Capital is to be considered with another complete example and two short, twisted and decorated columns preserved also in the Louvre. According to Professor Branner, this ensemble was probably a part of a cloister, now destroyed, which may have been built during the rule of Abbot Roger (1119–1173/74).

The scenes on the divided Capital are not entirely clear, as their full identification depends on the lost iconographic context of the other capitals in the destroyed cloister. The one complete capital, illustrating the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the Birth of Christ, and the Dream of the Magi, does not provide a clue. Dr. Branner tentatively identifies the problematic scenes as representing part of the Daniel story. The Nelson Gallery fragment may illustrate the dream of Nebuchadnezzar and the episode of Daniel in the lions' den.

This fragment is appealing not only for its exquisite carving and surface details, but also for its dynamic movement of nearly three-dimensional figural and animal masses set against a shadowy background. This background moves in itself, reflecting the undulating movement of the twisted column which once supported the Capital in a cloister arcade.

The lions bite furiously at one another. They recall somewhat the scale and spirit of the lions on the two capitals from the Church of Montermoyen at Bourges (see cat. no. III-12). They do not quite have the ferocious power of those on the related Cleveland Daniel Capital, although the architectural canopies in the two works should be compared. The figure style of the Nelson Gallery fragment is sufficiently close to

the general types initiated at Cluny and developed at Autun in its repeated concentric pleats (cat. nos. III-8, 9, 10). Since the region of Coulombs had no long local tradition in sculpture of this high quality, we may then surmise that the sculptor came from some other region, perhaps the Upper Loire Valley in the general area of Nivernais. A comparison with the sculptural decorations at La Charité-sur-Loire bears out this suggested origin. Professor Branner, while pointing to other comparisons in both Burgundy and the Loire Valley, also suggests a comparison with the retable relief found by Professor Crosby at Saint-Denis and datable circa 1135. Furthermore, he sees a similarity of other details on the Coulombs columns, including the decorative vine and acanthus leaf motifs with these features at Saint-Denis. Dr. Branner postulates that the sculptors of the preserved Coulombs cloister fragments may have been among the many artists drawn from other parts of France to work for Abbot Suger at Saint-Denis, possibly in a subsidiary capacity. On the completion of their projects for Suger, they may have been engaged by Abbot Roger of Coulombs to work on his cloister. Obviously the sculptor of the Nelson fragment was a gifted artist, but also a conservative one in that he makes no reference to the newly favored figural style evident in the great royal portals of Saint-Denis and Chartres. He was interested instead in both an expressive and ornamental movement of a self-involved frieze of forms set against a recessed undulating background. We can agree with Dr. Branner when he states: "There is no doubt that the Coulombs pieces mark the resurgence of a Romanesque sensitivity and the rejection of the new possibilities of form first stated at St. Denis. The twisted columns belong to the last, speculative phase of Romanesque style, when fantasy replaced monumentality, and when the normal rules of architectural relationships were deliberately broken."²

¹ Robert Branner, "A Romanesque Capital from Coulombs," *The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin*, II (January 1960), 1–6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 5.



12th century

III 19 *Fragment of a Crucifix.* Gilt bronze, H. 9-7/16, W. 4-1/2 inches.
Provenance: La Blissière à Soudan (Loire Atlantique). Angers
(Maine-et-Loire), Musée archéologique Saint Jean.

One of many preserved gilt-bronze crucifixes of the Romanesque period, this example, although fragmentary, is one of the finest and most exquisite, yet monumental, of its type and size. Its style is an international one as testified by the English morse ivory crucifix preserved at the Gildhall Museum of London,¹ and by several Spanish examples, including the silver cross in the Morgan collection of the Metropolitan Museum.² An especially similar, but probably Spanish, gilt-bronze example, was sold recently from the Stoclet collection.³ A parallel, in line and flat enamel, can be seen in Cleveland's Limoges Cross (cat. no. III-31).

¹ Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (Chicago, 1954), pl. 122, fig. 280.

² Paul Thoby, *Le Crucifix des Origines au Concile de Trente* (Nantes, 1959), pl. LXVII, no. 156.

³ Sotheby, *Catalogue of Important Works of Art and Italian Maiolica* (July 8, 1965), no. 12, repr.



Ile-de-France, mid-12th century

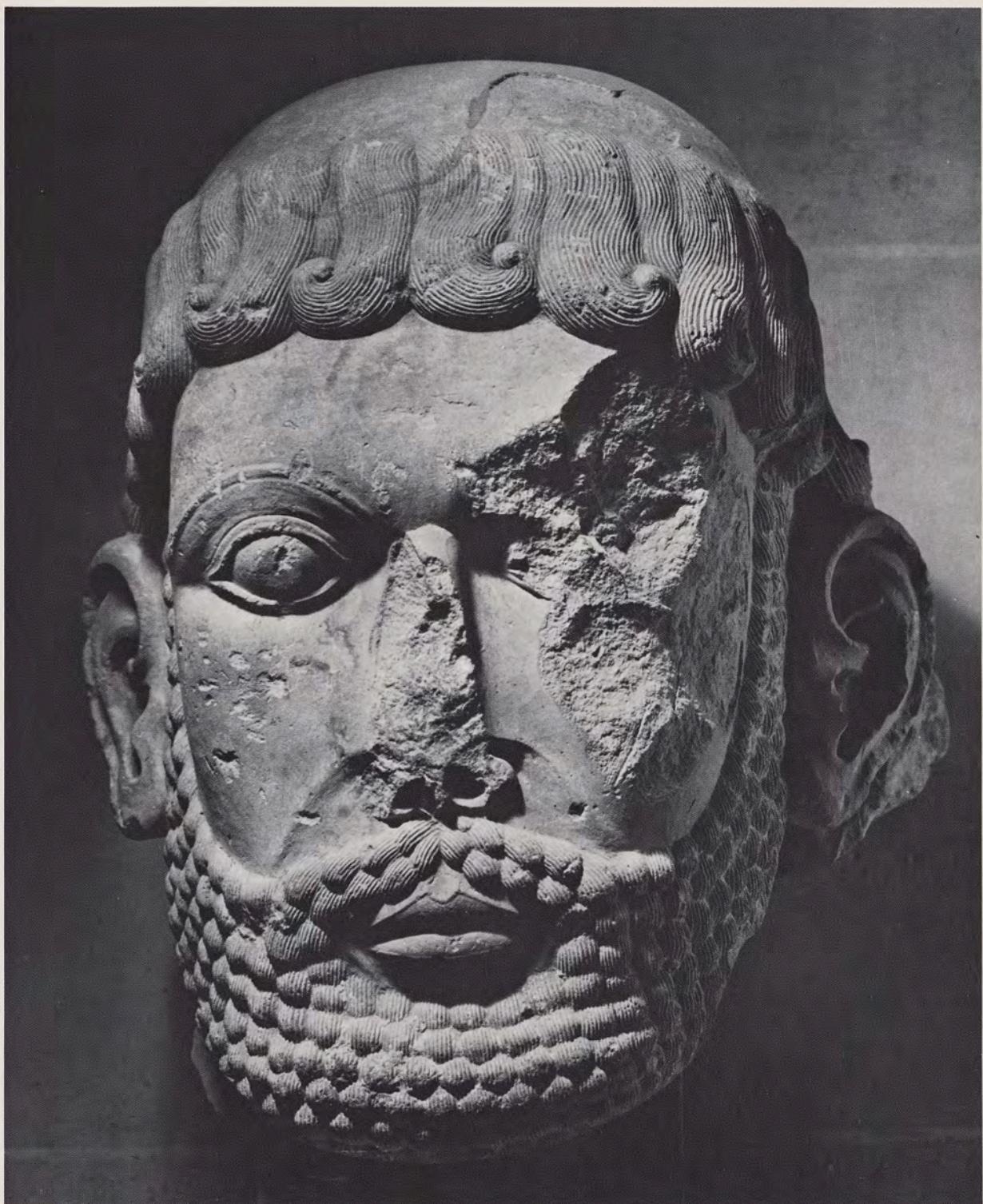
III 20 *Head* (formerly called *Ogier le Danois*). Stone, H. 15, W. 11 inches.
Provenance: Possibly from the Church of Saint-Faron at Meaux.
Meaux (Seine-et-Marne), Musée municipal.

Monumental and immutable, this large stone Head has an uncertain origin. It represents the head of a monk or abbot, as it is clearly tonsured. It is thought to have come from a tomb figure, presumably because of the projection of stone at the back. An alternative is that the Head may have come from a trumeau sculpture. G. Gassies observed in 1905 a certain resemblance with one of the two lost funerary effigies, recorded in a drawing published by Mabillon in *Acta Sanctorum . . .*, v, p. 656 and formerly in the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Faron in Meaux. Emile Mâle questioned this identification on the basis of style—the Head seemed more archaic than the apparent date of the funerary complex of circa 1180—and on the basis of the fact that eyes of the tomb figures are given in the drawing as closed, whereas in the stone Head they are shown open. The problem of the origin of this massive sculptural fragment has not yet been resolved.

A remarkable similarity in the treatment of the hair and nodulous beard has been observed in ancient Near Eastern art. Particularly notable is a seeming dependence on the

Achaemenid sculptures as seen at Persepolis of circa 485–465 B.C., an example of which can be seen in the Cleveland Museum. This similarity is probably coincidental. However, the conventions of the Achaemenid art may have been conveyed via a succession of Near Eastern styles and their eventual influence on Byzantine art which in itself had an enormous impact on the Romanesque art of Europe. Textiles could have been a natural intermediary.

The Head is conceived simply in terms of sheer block-like mass. This, in turn, is modified by the smooth, rounded planes enframed by the tightly textured or grooved nodules of the beard and curls of the tonsure. More powerful than a Modigliani, this Head has much of the force and impact of the ancient Celtic heads at Roquepertus. The figure of which it was once a part must have been one of the most imposing figures in Romanesque sculpture. Obviously the figure it represented must have been a very important personage, some unknown but highly revered monk or abbot.



Northeast France,
perhaps Marchiennes, ca.1150

III 21 *Sacramentary*, for use of Reims Cathedral. Vellum, 74 folios, H. 8-7/8,
W. 5-1/2 inches. Provenance: Reims Cathedral. Chapter Library
of Beauvais Cathedral (inventories: early 15th century, no. 64; 1464, no. 11;
1750, no. 26). Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, W. 28.

Written for the use of the Archbishop of Reims Cathedral, this manuscript has excited sustained interest for its textual contents which preserve unusual and early liturgical features, including a very old West-Frankish rite in a coronation formula. Many of the textual pages have suffered from dampness and for this reason were removed shortly prior to the sale of the best-preserved portion to Henry Walters around 1910. This segment of the manuscript is included in the exhibition. Fortunately, a substantial portion of the remainder has been identified and acquired by the Walters Art Gallery, although the task of reassembling the manuscript has not yet been undertaken. The manuscript in its entirety is also important as a rare French Romanesque manuscript in an American public collection.

The exhibited portion contains two full-page miniatures illustrating Christ in Majesty with Evangelist symbols on folio 5 and the Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John on folio 6 verso. On a previous page (folio 2 verso) is a large pseudo-monogram of two combined initials. The upright shaft of the larger initial, the letter P, is a gilded sprouting stem. The curved parts of the initials, continuing the gilded band of the stem, end in animal heads. Outlined in red and green and set against a light blue background, these gilt initials have a certain harshness. Within them are more lightly drawn foliate vine tendrils which fill much of the space intervals with swirls of red and green. The feathery effect of this foliage offsets the harshness of the gilt letters, giving a sweet-sour effect which lends a peculiar distinction to the animated linear grace of the ensemble.

A suggestion of iridescence and the warm palette occasionally sharpened by strident color contrasts give the two miniatures their distinctive appeal. The harmonies and contrasts of the blues, greens, salmon, orange, lavender, and gold produce a certain earthy richness. The nearest parallel in color relationships is the Gospels from Saint Omer of the early eleventh century (cat. no. II-1). However, here there is perhaps greater delicacy in the use of linear detail. Also, the bare vellum is utilized more freely as in the torso of the crucified Christ. Here the vellum is heightened by washes of white and sparse strokes of green and salmon. The linear grace of the facial features, hair, hands, and of the general outlines reveals a certain facility and impending, but not realized, fluidity.

While the stylistic peculiarities are specific enough to tentatively localize the manuscript's origin at Marchiennes, as suggested by Hanns Swarzenski, the general framework of the compositions exemplifies the tenacity and universality of Romanesque inventions. The miniature of the Crucifixion, however, should be singled out for its stylistic character. Despite a modest scale and a tentative internal treatment of the draperies, the Virgin and Saint John might be compared with certain experimental ventures in sculpture. The figures silently attending the Crucifixion are either precursors or contemporary parallels for two of the columnar figures at Cambrai (see cat. no. III-23). While lacking their scale and three-dimensionality, the mourning Virgin and Saint John document in line and paint something of their elongation and simple elegance.



Northeast France, ca.1150

III 22 *Mourning Virgin from a Crucifixion Group.* Gilt bronze, H. 6-1/8,
W. 1-1/2, D. 1/2 inches. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, William
F. Warden Fund, 49.466.

A medieval Korei stands tall, noble, column-like, enveloped in flutings and garland strands of shroud-like drapery, solemn in grief-pervaded reverie. She once stood with Saint John at the foot of a cross. Analogous to the painted figures on the frontispieces of missals created at such northeast French centers as Saint Amand or Arras, this rare bronze can also be localized in northeast France and, like the manuscripts, can be dated in the middle of the twelfth century.¹ A fruition of this style can be seen in the Cleveland column sculpture of circa 1180 from Châlons-sur-Marne (see cat. no. III-27).

¹ See Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (Chicago, 1954), pls. 140, 141.

The origins of the columnar jamb statues on cathedral façades in the Ile-de-France have been the subject of extended debate. The possible sculptural influence from Languedoc, Burgundy, and Byzantium have been studied. Also the initial figures in illuminated manuscripts, especially those of Cîteaux in Burgundy, may have been a possible stylistic source for the columnar statues. Against this background must be considered a tendency in Romanesque art, especially observable in the so-called "minor arts," which considered the draped human figure in its primarily architectonic features. Part of the evolution of the treatment of the figures of the Virgin and Saint John at the Crucifixion, as seen here or as in the Walters' Sacramentary, follows this interest (see cat. no. III-21).



Northeast France,
Cambrai, second half 12th century

III 23 *Column Figure.* Stone, H. 40-1/8, W. 11, D. 17-3/4 inches. Provenance: Cambrai. Cambrai (Nord), Musée municipal.

This sculpture was retrieved together with two other column figures in 1896 during the destruction of the chapel of the hospital of Saint-Jacques-le-Mineur. One figure, a man, carries a falcon; another figure, a woman, carries a flower. The figure shown here, also a woman, raises both arms and hands and consequently has been called on occasion, a caryatid figure. It is thought that these fragments might have come from the Church of Saint-Géry-au-Mont-des-Boeufs dating from the twelfth century but destroyed at the order of Charles v in 1543. In 1552 the fragments were utilized in the structure of the hospital chapel.

The columns are too broad and the figures too small to be considered as columnar jamb figures. They must have served functionally as heavy fenestration to a chapter house or *salle capitulaire*. Jacques Vanuxem has suggested a comparison with the *salle capitulaire* of Saint-Georges de Boscherville.

The two figures with attributes may have reference to the seasons or the Zodiac signs. Together they may symbolize the month of May as at Senlis and at Notre-Dame in Paris. The Figure shown here is more uncertain. Her head, with long

hair twisted into two long tresses, is decorated with an ornamental band. The upheld hands suggest, for want of a better interpretation, a figure in prayer, an orant figure familiar since the Early Christian era.

The two figures still at Cambrai have a tentative character to their draperies which parallels very closely those of the Virgin and St. John figures in the Walters Sacramentary (cat. no. III-21). The present Figure by contrast is much more imposing. The swirling drapery folds are decisively and rhythmically ordered, and the entire figure has a movemental force quite independent of the column to which it is attached. In this respect it may be compared with some of the columnar figures in the Ile-de-France as at Etampes. However, in its freedom and originality it has no peer. Contacts with Rhenish art have been suggested as a possible source. The group of three columnar figures at Cambrai must be considered in the context of other columnar figures in the Northeast, such as the complex of examples at Châlons-sur-Marne, which are stylistically less abstract.



Burgundy, Archdiocese of Sens,
possibly Abbey of Pontigny,
second half 12th century

III 24 *Single Leaf from a Decretum*, by Gratianus. Vellum, H. 17-1/4,
W. 13-1/4 inches. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from
the J. H. Wade Fund, 54.598.

Little is known concerning the author of the *Concordia Discordantium Canonum*, more generally called *Decretum Gratiani*, of which a portion of the text appears on both sides of this single leaf. The author's name was Franciscus Gratianus, a monk of the Monastery of Saints Nabor and Felix in Bologna. It is not exactly certain when he compiled the *Decretum*. It did not exist prior to 1139, for it contains decrees of the second Lateran Council of the same year. He probably completed his text some time between 1140 and 1151. Gratianus died before the third Lateran Council in 1179 and his work became a foundation for the *Corpus Juris Canonica*. Hastings Rashdall sums up its importance when he states that "almost from its first publication the *Decretum* sprang into the position of a recognized text-book in the Schools and Ecclesiastical courts."¹

Both faces of the Cleveland page are divided into two columns of text. The recto face has in its right column an architectural index table which gives Greek alphabetical symbols with the first words of the various canons. A large decorated initial Q of the word *quidem* appears in the right column of the verso face.

The placement of the architectural table in relation to the surrounding text and the margins is a marvel of simplicity and restraint. The page is also remarkable for the balance and unity within the columnar structure, whose elegant silhouette is enhanced with subtle internal variations of acanthus leaf forms, geometric patterns, and color. The textual interrelations of the table itself are echoed, so to speak, in the rhythmic, interlaced arches. Explosions of acanthus leaves punctuate the terminals of this arcade. The color is somewhat blond in emphasis, and the harmonies of salmon, light blue, green, and tan are given accent in the use of black outline and white highlights.

The handsome Q on the verso is composed of tightly knotted orange bands intertwined with gray and green acanthus motifs. The tail of the Q is an intertwined foliate rin-

ceaux which grows out of the main body of the letter. The interstices of this complex letter are filled with blue, whereas the background is a dark green. The foliate forms are given a certain three-dimensional character with rounded stems and fleshy leaves. The ancestry of such an initial can be traced backward to similar initials produced a generation or two earlier in scriptoria on both sides of the Channel, to still earlier Winchester trellised acanthus of circa 1000, to the foliate and inhabited initials of ninth-century Metz manuscripts, and before that to the initials of late Merovingian manuscripts at Corbie.

Other portions of a similar or possibly the same *Decretum Gratiani* manuscript may be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum.² The script, rulings, initials, decorative elements, and color are all very similar. Three of the five large initials in these London fragments are punctuated by animal heads. The restriction of the decoration to such heads and the emphasis on foliate and interlaced bands raises the question as to whether this manuscript, if it is just one, was produced in some Cistercian monastic scriptorium which might have taken seriously the admonitions of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153) against rich and distracting decorations.

Stylistic similarities with a slightly later architectural canon table in a Bible fragment, which in the eighteenth century came from the Abbey of Pontigny, tentatively point to this center near Auxerre in the Archdiocese of Sens. The Bible fragment has been variously dated by Jean Porcher in the second half of the twelfth to the end of the same century. Pontigny was the Cistercian abbey which sheltered Saint Thomas à Becket for two years after his flight from England in 1164. The tentative attribution of the Cleveland leaf to Pontigny is still under study and a comparison with the manuscripts carried back to England from Pontigny and Ste.-Colombe-lès-Sens by Saint Thomas and Herbert of Bosham has not yet been possible.

¹ Hastings Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1936), p. 130.

² These are listed in *Catalogue of Miniatures, Leaves, and Cuttings from Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1923), nos. 8985 B-F.

PARS.

principia debemus. Si quiccum honoris augmento cur
q̄p sollicitudinis debet exrefescere. & cūtū iustū. achi
ous quop̄ ornamenti conueniant. oponet ut enīris
in causa studis & mā frīmas exerceat. ut circa subiec
tū actus sit uigilans. **I**dem nob̄ p̄mē iustitiae
dūci. Sūt p̄lū concidit. q̄m̄ p̄m̄lēta iustitiae.

Dūlūm̄ nō er more transmūtūlūm̄ er uices nō apli
q̄s leis agere. reuera inuocatione decernim̄. **I**de
q̄s sp̄ri. d̄ e c o o d̄ e o .

Scrip̄toz uīoz iustitiae k̄nū patet utr̄ ab
am incoemātūe ciuitatis ep̄m̄. d̄e p̄m̄lēta sollem
nt̄ iustitiae. cui pallium nō d̄e p̄m̄lēta cognoscere. ap̄
p̄m̄lēta coq̄f̄f̄e que p̄cecessores nō c̄ p̄decessorū
concedit. **I**n una uī p̄m̄lēta duo metropolitani
c̄ n̄ debet sicut in calcedonensi concilio statutū est.

Duo metropolitani in una eadē p̄m̄lēta c̄ n̄ possunt.
P̄t uenit ad nos q̄d quād p̄t ecclāsticas ordinationes
pones affectantes potestā p̄t p̄m̄lēta. si c̄tū in mā
p̄m̄lēta m̄dias dūndant. & ex hoc inueniunt̄ duo me
tropolitani ep̄m̄ una et eadē c̄ p̄m̄lēta. Statutū ign
t̄ sūt in d̄ecep̄tū m̄chil t̄ale. atēp̄tū. q̄dibz c̄jō fōrū
q̄ aliquid t̄ale r̄p̄auerit. cadere d̄e p̄m̄lēta. **H**ec
m̄s d̄e electione & confirmatione catholicis mādūlūm̄.
nam ad simoniacos ordinaciones mādūlūm̄. ut fac
le liquet quid sup̄ hanc hereticū t̄cū parū decretū
auctoritas. cuius deducatur in mediū. Cūmis negotiū
et desideriū almoniacis confectis. & de ignorantia si
moniacis ordinariis & de ordinacionibus que p̄ pecunia
am sunt contineat. **E**x concilio aurelianensi ca
p̄s̄c̄p̄tū presb̄terū

ſp̄t̄lo. iii.

aut diaconi. canel. ad uenitūdūm̄. aut accipitres
aut huiusmodi res habere non licet. Q̄ uox liquis cātū
grū in hac uoluntate ep̄m̄s detectus fuerit. si ep̄m̄
est tribus membris a communione suspendatur. dia
coni uno ab oī officio. & communione suspendatur. **E**x
Om̄b̄ seruit oī. uenationes et similes. **S**ed
nagationes cum amib̄s. & si accipitres et falcone
n̄ habeant. interdicimus.

Ex dispensatione quēda tolent̄ q̄ canonū rigor condicat.

Excepta circū missa maritimo diacono antecēno.
Dicit a diligendo in paulo monacho. q̄ retu
lat p̄cas tua uī. hodie communione reverentissimi
ep̄i totis amplecti. p̄o q̄d quād in amicēna ecclā
male adhuc cum nefaria l'fēmānt ut iam senferint
q̄dē s̄. fortū resp̄uerint. Prober ḡ tua modestia
utrū aliquid colliḡt̄ mōde ac irreuerenter cū resto
rio sentiant & inuicē colloq̄nt̄. Luce aliquid came
riata habuerint̄ conseruant̄. Colligant̄ autē nunc ac
ta penitentia sup̄ his in quib̄ subrepti sunt. q̄m̄s
confiteri sonaliſſi reuerant̄ excessum. Ut autem

Om̄ia que hanc sequunt̄
uī. sām. debet c̄ in
vī. uī. uī. p̄m̄lēta. c̄. p̄t̄o p̄m̄lēta. illud q̄
se mox. q̄. uī. ap̄. p̄d̄. t̄. c̄. b̄.
peccatum.

Ile-de-France, ca.1165–1170

III 25 *Head of King David.* Limestone, H. 11-1/4 inches. Provenance: Portal of Saint Anne, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 38.180.

The right entrance of the west façade of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris, called the portal of Saint Anne, was probably begun before 1170 and was contemporaneous with the construction of the choir. Maurice de Sully, Bishop from 1160 until his death in 1196, oversaw the work. Much of the sculpture of the portal of Saint Anne was incorporated in the great Gothic façade of circa 1230. The portal was seriously damaged in 1793 during the French Revolution, at which time all of the large statues were pulled down. Under the direction of Viollet-le-Duc, Geoffroy-Dechaume and his workshop attempted to reconstruct the losses following the now-lost drawings of Antoine Benoist which were reproduced in the engravings published by Bernard de Montfaucon in 1729.

Montfaucon's engravings have been useful recently in the work of salvage and identification of otherwise homeless fragments. One of the most distinguished fragments from the Saint Anne portal, recognized and published by James J. Rorimer in 1940, is the present Head, identified

as the Head of King David. The identification is further buttressed by the similarity it bears with the features, hair, and crowns of King Herod and the Magi visible on the still-extant twelfth-century tympanum of the Saint Anne portal.

The Head of David has suffered certain obvious losses, mostly along the central axis, the inlay of the eyes (possibly originally filled with lead), and the fleurons of the crown. However, we can still appreciate the remarkable eloquence of line and form in this Head which has in common with the royal portal sculptures at Saint-Denis and at Chartres the forcefulness, frontality, and solidity of Romanesque tradition softened and made elegant by the nuances of modeling and the beginning naturalistic tendencies of Gothic art. The original decoration of the Saint Anne portal has been related to the best work of the master sculptors of the Royal Portal at Chartres. A comparison of the Head of David with some of the heads of specific columnar figures at Chartres bears out this assumption.



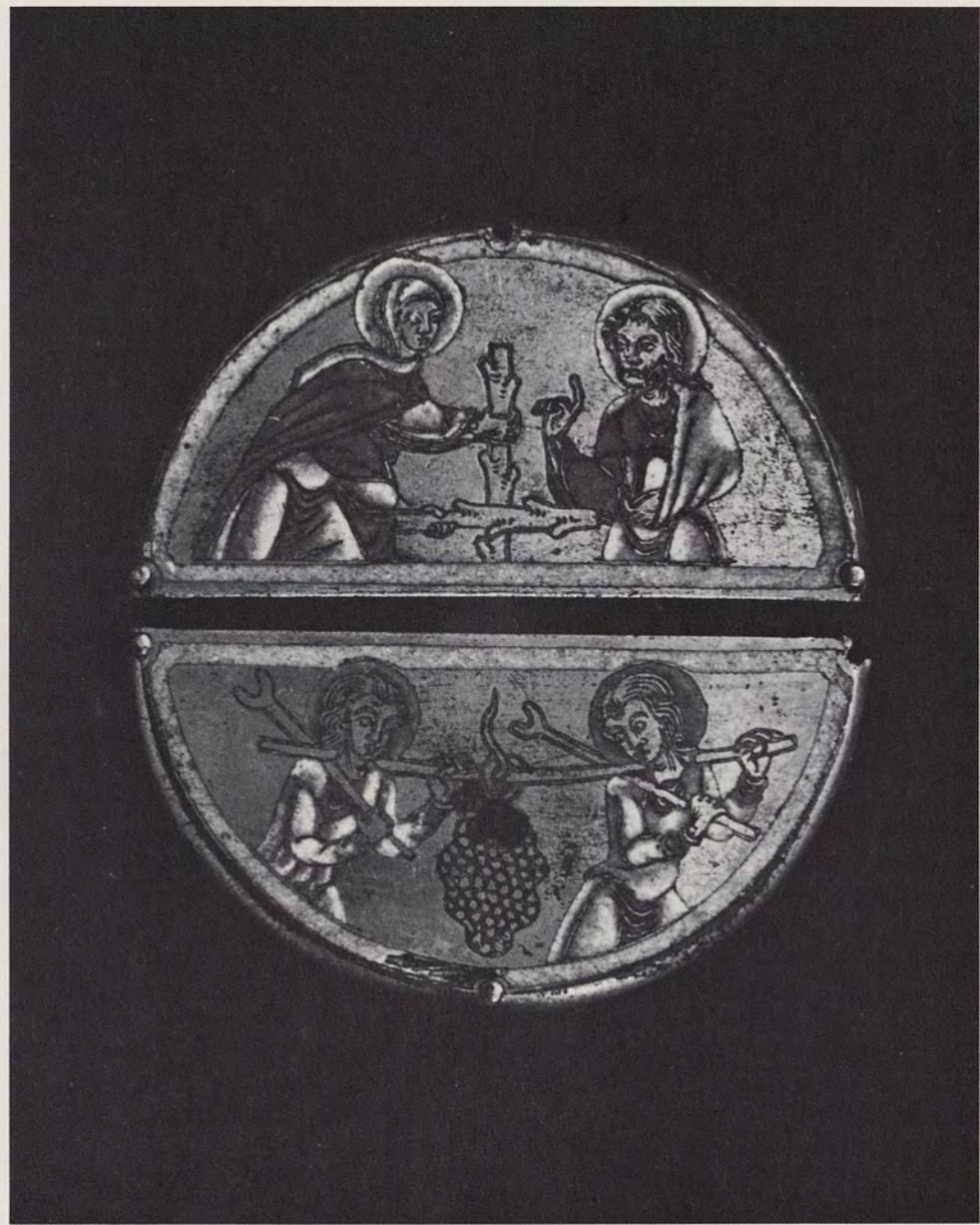
Troyes (?), ca. 1160–1180

III 26 *Two Semi-Circular Plaques.* Above, Elijah and the widow of Zarephath gathering wood (Luke 4:24–27); below, the Spies of Moses returning from the Valley of Eschol with the grapes of Canaan suspended from a pole (Numbers 13: 23–24). Copper gilt, champlevé enamel on copper, Diam. 3-15/16 inches. Troyes (Aube), Trésor de la cathédral de SS. Pierre et Paul.

Both enamels come from a series of nineteen plaques of identical dimensions. Together they make a visual exegesis of Old and New Testament subjects with repeated allusions to the Passion and the Crucifixion. The suspended grapes of Canaan prefigure Christ's carrying the cross and the Crucifixion, and the cut branches held by Elijah and the widow of Zarephath suggest the cross. (Compare these branches with the cross from Saint Julien-aux-Bois, cat. no. III–28.) Such associations are a typical development of Romanesque typological correlations; some of them are especially prevalent in enamels made in the Valley of the Meuse. For example, the carrying of the grapes of Canaan can be seen on the well-known enameled base for the Cross of Saint Bertin, a Mosan work, now in the Museum at Saint Omer.

The Troyes enamels, formerly attributed to the Rhineland or to the Valley of the Meuse, are now generally considered to be representative of Troyes workmanship under the influence of Mosan art. Technically and stylistically they should be compared with such Mosan works as Cleveland's own Mosan Phylactery, datable circa 1150.

Marie-Madeleine Gauthier has suggested that the plaques could have been made for a retable or frontal which might have been intended for the Chapel of the Crucifix, founded in 1157 at Saint Etienne, Troyes, by Henry the Liberal. The fact that some plaques are vertically oriented and others are horizontal, suggests a possible original arrangement in groups of four around a central square plaque. Such an arrangement can be seen in Mosan works, as in the quadri-lobe of the Châsse of St. Gondulphe in the Musée royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels. An account of the history of the Troyes semi-circular plaques, formerly thought to have come from the tomb of Thibaut III, Count of Champagne, has recently been given by Mireille Jottrand. This same author has also underscored the compositional, stylistic, and iconographic features which ally the Troyes semi-circular enamels with the Mosan tradition but which also, in certain respects, differentiate it as an independent and distinctive production.



Champagne, Châlons-sur-Marne,
ca.1180

III 27 *Columnar Figure of an Apostle.* Limestone, H. 38-1/2, W. 9-1/2,
Diam. (of column) 6-7/8 to 6-3/4 inches. Provenance: Neighbor-
hood of Reims, probably Notre-Dame-en-Vaux, Châlons-sur-Marne. The
Cleveland Museum of Art, 19.38.

Two successive ateliers working on the Church of Notre-Dame-en-Vaux at Châlons-sur-Marne have been recently studied by Willibald Sauerländer.¹ The first of these was active in the years following 1157 and might be regarded as "an eastern outpost of one very specific branch of the new Ile-de-France art," especially that found at Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Professor Sauerländer suggested also that the second atelier demonstrated an awareness of iconographic and stylistic elements current in the 1170's and early 1180's in the "Porte des Valois" of the northern transept of Saint-Denis, the west portal at Senlis, the left portal of the façade at Mantes, and the Saint John portal at the Cathedral of Sens. The production of the second Châlons atelier, now entirely dismantled and fragmented, may be seen in a number of capitals and broken columnar figures partly discovered by Chanoine L. Herbert in 1937 in the garden wall on the site of the former cloister of Notre-Dame-en-Vaux. Several other elements are in the local museum and private collections, as well as in the Louvre.

Additional material, found during the systematic excavations at Châlons in 1963, has been initially reported by Léon Pressouyre, whose full study, a doctoral thesis, is yet to be published.² Some of the newly found fragments belong to capitals or columnar figures known previously in a more fragmentary state. Together the various elements, capitals, and columnar figures originally constituted an extremely important decorated and figured cloister complex. Pressouyre has given us some of the tantalizing details: the measurements of the cloister were roughly 108 feet by 106 feet, and the subjects represented on the capitals and in the columnar figures indicate an iconographical program rich in typologi-

¹ Willibald Sauerländer, "Twelfth-century Sculpture at Châlons-sur-Marne," *Studies in Western Art, Romanesque and Gothic Art* (Princeton, 1963), pp. 119-128; *Idem.*, "Sculpturen des 12 Jahrhunderts in Châlons-sur-Marne," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, xxv (1962), 97-124.

² Léon Pressouyre, "Fouilles du cloître de Notre-Dame-en-Vaux de Châlons-sur-Marne," *Bulletin de la Société national des Antiquaires de France* (1964), pp. 23-38.

cal and allegorical references. Several additional but dispersed columnar figures came to light just prior to the excavation campaign. These figures either once belonged to the Châlons sequence or are closely related to it. In the first category are the two columnar figures preserved at the entrance to the Church at Sarry (Marne), not far from Châlons, published by Anne Prache-Paillard.³ Also attributable to Châlons is the Cleveland Columnar Figure of an Apostle, identified by Sauerländer.⁴ Two partially restored columnar figures, formerly in the Micheli collection in Paris and now in the Meyer van der Bergh Museum in Antwerp may fall in the second category of works closely related to the Châlons sequence.⁵

Sauerländer has suggested that the Cleveland work, one of the best preserved of all the columnar figures, represents an apostle, possibly Saint John because he is beardless. In all of the fragments and especially in the Cleveland Figure, we can observe a remarkable plasticity and a sense of vibrant volume beneath the draperies, indicative of a growing independence of the column support. Integral with this treatment and expressive form is the use of line which emphasizes not only the roundness of the volumes but also the sweep of drapery over them, giving the figure a certain elegance and richness of surface. Especially significant is the fact that the Cleveland sculpture must have been originally polished or

(Continued on page 356)

³ Anne Prache-Paillard, "Le cloître de Notre-Dame-en-Vaux de Châlons-sur-Marne," *Mémoires de la Société d'Agriculture, Commerce, Sciences et Arts du département de la Marne*, LXXVII (1962), 61-72.

⁴ Willibald Sauerländer, "Eine Saulenfigur aus Châlons-sur-Marne im Museum in Cleveland (Ohio)," *Pantheon*, XXI (May-June 1963), 143-148, figs. 3, 4, 6, 7.

⁵ Proposed by William D. Wixom in letter to Professor Sauerländer on June 12, 1963; acknowledged by Pressouyre, p. 26, n.3; See Josef de Coo, "L'ancienne collection Micheli au Musée Mayer van den Bergh," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXVI, 6 Per. (December 1965), 355, nos. 140-141; "Deux statues colonnes en pierre, fin XI^e siècle. Français, IX^e siècle. M.v.d.B. no. 133 a b (fig. 23)."



Third quarter 12th century

III 28 *Processional Cross.* Cast bronze (*cuirre jaune*), with traces of gilding,
H. 13-3/4, W. 9-1/16 inches. Saint-Julien-aux-Bois (Corrèze),
Chapel of Saint Pierre-ès-Liens.

This Processional Cross is unusual as a rare three-dimensional example of Christ depicted on a cross whose stem and arms represent a trunk of a tree out of which formerly grew multiple young branches. The branches have been shown lopped off close to the main stem. The symbolism of the Tree of Life, the *lignum vitae*, forming the basis of the cross is an old one and not unique to the present work. Its beginnings may be observed in Byzantine ivories, in Ottonian art as in Bernward's bronze doors at Hildesheim, and in eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts in England and France. It can be seen on the front of the incomparable Bury Saint Edmunds walrus ivory cross of circa 1150–1190 in the Cloisters, New York, and on the roughly contemporary Limoges enamel cross in the Metropolitan Museum from the Morgan collection. All of these examples and many others are either in relief or on a relatively flat surface being painted or enameled. Three-dimensional examples on a small scale are rarely seen or published. A bronze Deposition group, assigned to Lorraine and dated circa 1130 by Hanns Swarzenski, shows the *lignum vitae* type as does also a Mosan gilt-bronze Crucifix, formerly in the Soltykoff collection.¹ Both of these examples are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Other distinctive peculiarities add to the interest of the Cross from Saint-Julien-aux-Bois. Foremost of these is the extended blessing hand of God the Father. A low relief hand of God together with the scroll or placard at the top of the cross is not an unusual feature. It can be seen in the Bury Saint Edmunds cross and in a number of twelfth- and thirteenth-century examples from Germany and Lower Rhine areas; a recently acquired example may be seen at the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City. In the Cross illustrated here, the hand and a unique supporting arm are extended more than

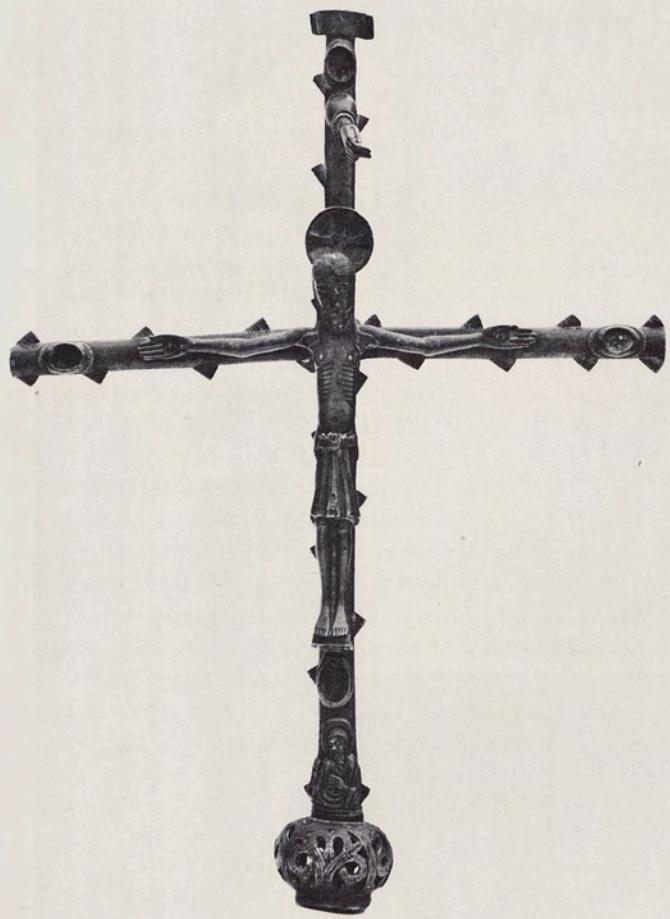
an inch from the Cross itself. This arm is clothed in a long sleeve over an undergarment shown at the wrist. The emphasis given to this extended arm and hand has led Dr. Paul Thoby to suggest it was intended as the response to the invectives of the Jews at Calvary recorded by Saint Matthew (27:37–43).

Other unusual features include the crossed nimbus with a pearlized background, the unidentified saint holding a book at the base of the Cross, the cabochon settings at the extremities of the Cross, and the fact that the extended arm and hand as well as the *corpus* are both cast as one piece with the vertical arm of the Cross. The palmette open-work knob at the base is not unusual, as it can be seen in Mosan and Lower Rhine crosses.

All of these elements do not account for the remarkable sculptural precision embodied in the work and its appeal as a work of art. The figure of the Christ has combined a sense of dignity and repose. The slightly inclined head, even without the more frequent crown, is given a certain majesty. The details are crisp and clean, the result of excellent casting and subsequent tooling. The parallel strands of finely drawn hair, the nobility of the features, the supple undulations of the beard, the harsh grooves of the ribs and swell of the stomach, the shallow folds of the loincloth all play a part in this clarity and subtle order. The gentle sag of Christ's arms and knees echoes the limp arm and blessing hand of God the Father above. The economy of means is impressive. The simplicity is disarming. While not imposing or monumental, the Saint Julien-aux-Bois Cross is perhaps one of the most appealing small bronze crosses of the Middle Ages.

The firm localization of this seemingly diminutive masterpiece cries for the renewed deliberations of scholars and connoisseurs. In the first serious publication of it, René Fage attempted to place it in the Limousin and dated it in the third quarter of the twelfth century.

¹ Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (Chicago, 1954), pl. 54, figs. 341, 342. For additional examples and bibliography for the whole subject, see: W. L. Hildeburgh, "A Medieval Bronze Pectoral Cross," *Art Bulletin*, xiv (June 1932), 79–102.



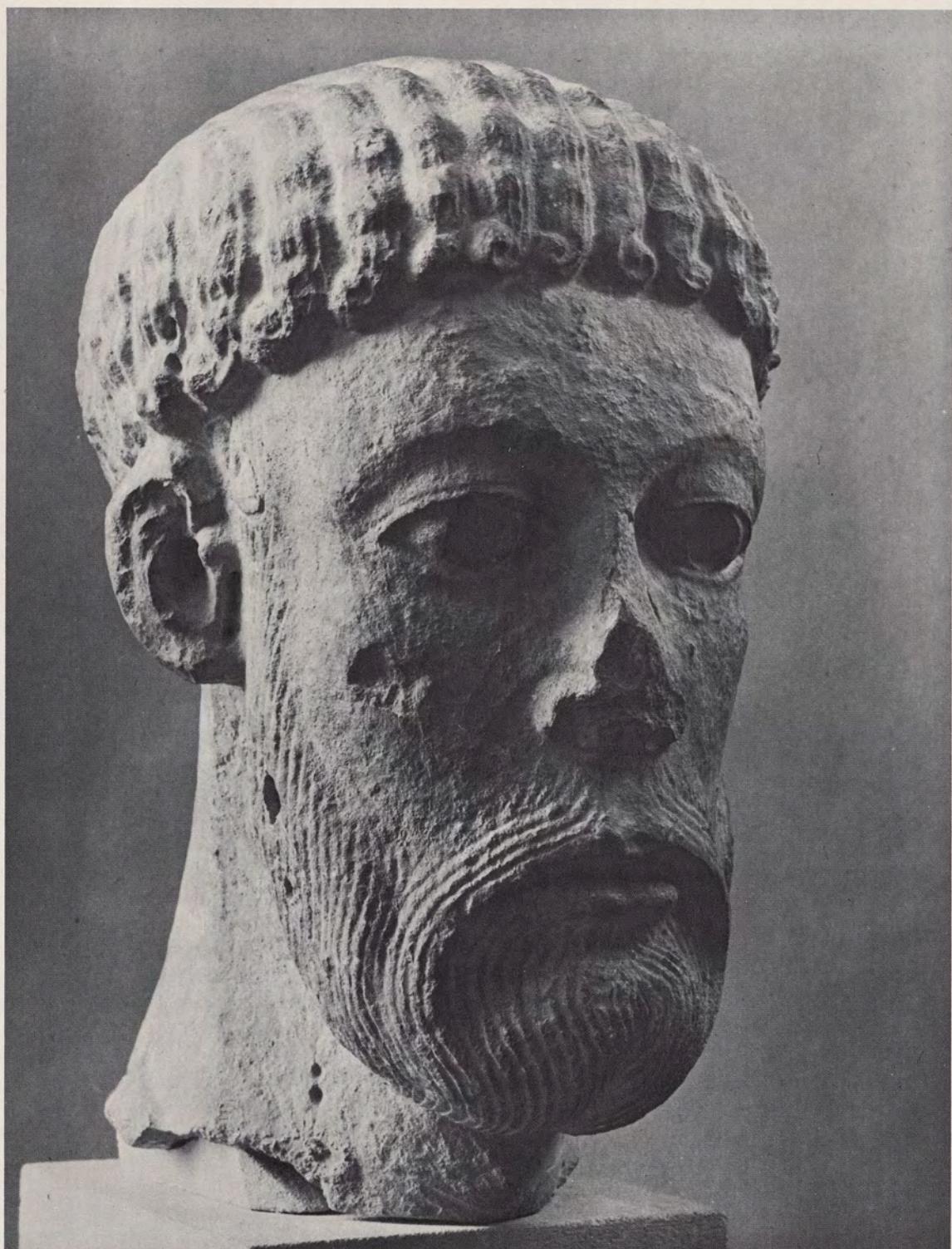
Limousin, Limoges, ca.1160

III 29 *Head from a Columnar Figure.* Limestone, H. 11-1/2, W. 7-1/16 inches. Provenance: Probably from the Romanesque Cathedral of Limoges. Limoges (Haute-Vienne), Musée municipal.

This Head is one of two limestone heads thought to have come from the Romanesque portal of the north crossing of the Cathedral of Limoges, a suggestion of Jean Perrier and Marie-Madeleine Gauthier. The two heads were found in 1850 in the foundations of a house built in the vicinity with material from the demolished Romanesque fabric of this Cathedral. A perforation at the base of the skulls at the back of each head suggests that they were originally a part of columnar figures.

Both heads express a certain dignity and quiet strength. The Head reproduced here is especially appealing, as it has suffered the least. The eyes are large and slightly downcast, and their cavities were once filled with another material. The kinky hair falls in regular clustered strands, cap-like and ending in tight curls. The beard, carved in regular and parallel waves, echoes and varies the texture of the hair. The sensitive suggestion of high cheekbones and shallow concave surface below, the strongly modeled planes and cut lines of the brow and eyes, and the firm but fleshy lower lip

suggest that the sculptor may have been an observer of the developments of the columnar jamb figures in the Ile-de-France (see cat. no. III-14). As suggested by Pierre Pradel, the sculptor certainly received inspiration from this source, both in the idea of the columnar figure and in the beginning naturalism and sensitive modeling of the head. However, the distinctive flavor of the two Limoges heads set them apart from the Ile-de-France. They lack the aloofness and the feeling of objectivity in the Saint-Denis heads (see cat. no. III-14). The Limoges sculptor is perhaps more emotionally involved and as a result he was able to express a certain ascetic dignity and somber, pensive strength. In this expression and the means employed to achieve it, as in the exquisite linear detail, we may observe a kinship with contemporary metalwork and enamels of Limoges and its region. We need only turn to the image of the hermit monk, Hugo Lacerta, in the enamel plaque from Grandmont or to the image of Christ on the Cleveland enamel cross to see a kindred expressive spirit (see cat. nos. III-30, 31).



Limousin, ca.1189,
by Master of Grandmont Altar

III 30 *Plaque: Hugo Lacerta and Etienne de Muret.* Copper gilt, champlevé enamel, H. 10-3/8, W. 7-1/8 inches. Provenance: Treasury of the Abbey of Grandmont. Inscription: NIGOLASERT : PARLAMNE TEVEDEMURET. Paris, Musée National des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny.

A monk with a tau cross and a priest in a chasuble holding a book face each other in solemn conversation under an arch above which are the walls and towers implying, as in the Cleveland Daniel Capital, that the scene is an interior one (cat. no. III-12). Recently Geneviève F. Souchal in a definitive study has read the inscription as N'IGO LASERT: PARLA AM N'ETEVE DE MURET or *le seigneur Hugo Lasert parle avec le seigneur Etienne de Muret.*¹ As a result Mme. Souchal has identified the figure of the hermit-monk as Hugo Lacerta (d. 1157), not Etienne de Muret (d. 1124) as formerly believed. Accordingly, Etienne de Muret, who founded the order of Grandmont in 1076 and who was canonized in 1189, is shown nimbed at the right and as a priest. Hugo is depicted wearing the earliest habit of the Grandmont order, the only such document known.

Solemnity and dignity are expressed in terms of color and line. The several dominating blues of the robes and the repeated lines of white and of gilded copper echo each other in long vertical parenthesis-like rhythms. The fact that the beards and hair of both heads are gilded and the flesh in both is flushed rose-pink also serves to reinforce the sense of visual reciprocation even though the physiognomies are very different. The composition of the two figures, silhouetted against a gilded background and set beneath a single arch supported on two engaged columns or pilasters, suggests that this is only one group among a series of figures under successive arches of a larger work. Indeed a companion plaque illustrating the Adoration of the Magi has been preserved, also in the Musée de Cluny, and it reflects the same format.

Mme. Souchal has exhaustively studied the various alternatives which might have included these two plaques. She has eliminated the possibility that they were tomb plaques

¹ Geneviève F. Souchal, "Les Emaux de Grandmont au XII^e siècle," *Bulletin Monumental*, cxx (1962), 339–357; see also for the remainder of this study cxxi (1963), 41–64, 123–150, 219–235, 307–329; cxxii (1964), 7–35, 129–159.

or that they were once part of a large châsse. Instead she has proposed that the two Cluny plaques were part of two cycles on a single retable. One cycle must have illustrated the story of Christ, possibly including Old Testament typological references, and the other the life of Saint Etienne de Muret. Since Etienne de Muret is shown nimbed, the plaque could not date well before his canonization in 1189. Mme. Souchal demonstrates that the retable may have been part of a larger complex of the main altar at Grandmont and she argues for a date in the same year as the canonization of the saint-founder of the order. She further suggests that the original altar complex may have been paid for by the moneys given by Henry II Plantagenet near the end of his life and by Henry's legacy to the order of Grandmont following his death eight weeks prior to the canonization of Etienne de Muret. (Richard the Lion Hearted transmitted these latter funds.)

The two enamel plaques from the retable must be understood not only in relation to earlier, less ambitious enamels, but also in relation to the evolution of French twelfth-century art in general, its recurring borrowings from antique and from Byzantine art, and its periodic anticipations of the Gothic. No doubt there is a similarity with the Sacramentary of Limoges (cat. no. III-3) of circa 1100, and both plaques and this manuscript have a common debt to Byzantine art. But is there any direct connection over the span of eighty years between these works? The expressiveness and monumentality of the exhibited plaque are underscored and perhaps better understood in comparison with the Walters' Sacramentary from Reims Cathedral, which appears to be more hesitant, and the Limoges head, which seems to express a kindred spirit (cat. nos. III-21, 29).

Mme. Souchal has clearly analyzed the style of the enamelist who created the two Grandmont plaques and she has given him the name "the master of the Grandmont altar," although she also sees his artistry in a number of other works including the Cleveland cross (cat. no. III-31).

Limousin, ca.1190,
by Master of Grandmont Altar

III 31 *Cross.* Champlevé enamel and gilt copper, H. 26-3/8, W. 16-1/2 inches. Inscription on *titulus*: IHS XPS. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of J. H. Wade, 23.1051.

The Cleveland Cross, formerly in the Spitzer collection, is composed of five copper plaques with champlevé enamel and gilding. The figure of Christ is cross-nimbed and without a crown. Above are two busts of angels in clouds and at the sides are the busts of the Virgin and Saint John. Below may be seen the end of the spear used to pierce Christ's side, the rocks of Golgotha, the skull of Adam, and at the bottom, Saint Peter, identified by his key. From the point of view of completeness, condition, and style, this is the finest Limoges enameled cross in existence.

The profile of the Cleveland Cross is especially elegant and attenuated, and the figure of Christ is both monumental and subtle. The stark white torso and limbs are treated schematically against the gilded background and the blues and greens edged with yellow of the cross-within-a-cross. The rhythmic quality of line and the intensity of color are exploited for both expressive and decorative ends. The head of Christ, whose face is flushed pink and whose hair is filled with red, is one of the most sublime and sensitive depictions created, rivaling the finest Byzantine mosaics and enamels from which the entire figure derives inspiration. The schematic linearism of the Cleveland Cross should be compared with the crucified Christ depicted in the Sacramentary of Saint Etienne at Limoges (cat. no. III-3). However, the miniature painting has a strange, hypnotic, other-worldly quality surprisingly foreign to the enamel's idealized, ennobled, yet sensitive image.

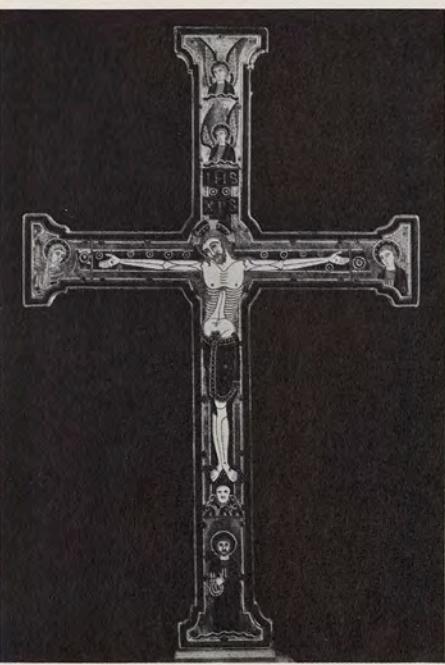
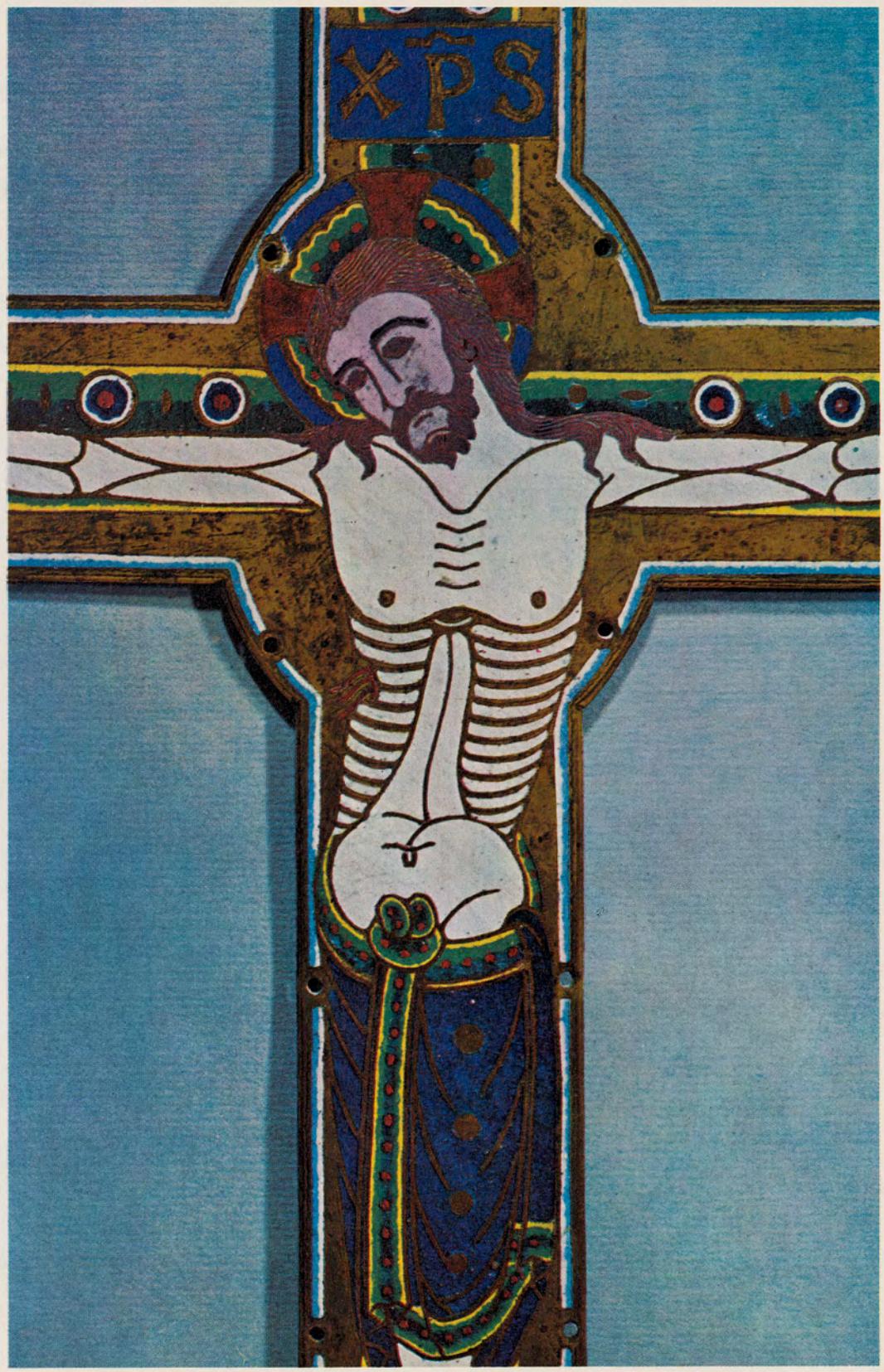
Geneviève Souchal has grouped this enamel, along with several others, as the product of the same gifted hand which she has called "Master of the Grandmont Altar" after two enamel plaques now in the Musée de Cluny, one of which is included in the exhibition (cat. no. III-30). It is instructive to compare the two enamels as a means of understanding the exquisite yet powerful manner of this artist. They are especially similar in the use of three different blues, the

greens, yellow, white, red and rose-white flesh. An engraver's precision in both gives minute detail and heightens the sense of richness. This can be seen in the tiny repeated points which follow many of the exterior and interior contours.

The secure dating of the Cluny plaques makes it possible to date the Cleveland Cross circa 1190. It was probably used as a processional cross as were most of the enameled crosses of its type. The wood support for the plaques is modern. The original but lost core was decorated on the reverse by additional enameled plaques. In the center was probably an image of the triumphant Christ in a mandorla whose outline is reflected in the profile of the Crucifixion plaque on the face. Such a plaque from the reverse of a cross and by, or close to, the Master of the Grandmont Altar is preserved in the collection of Paul Thoby at Nantes. The extremities of the reverse of the Cleveland Cross were no doubt decorated with the Evangelist symbols.

The earliest engravings of the Cleveland Cross show it with a different plaque above the Crucifixion on the face. This was an inverted nimbed angel holding a book, the symbol of Matthew. Since Spitzer was able to find the original plaque with two angels in the correct position, as now shown, the plaque with the symbol of Matthew was separated from the Cross and eventually it was sold as an entirely different item. While Spitzer's find of the correct plaque for the face of the Cross was a happy event, the alienation of the Matthew symbol was unfortunate in that this element must have come originally from the reverse of the Cross where it corresponded in position and dimensions with the Saint Peter on the face. Judging from the best engraving of the alienated plaque, it was of the same style and probably by the same hand. Its details are nearly identical with those of the angels on the face.





The Châsse from Malval continues the architectural shape of the Bellac Châsse (cat. no. III-1) with the addition of the supporting legs at the corners. On the other hand, each of the component copper plaques on this example forms one whole face of the Châsse. Each plaque is bordered with a reserve pattern of crosses diagonally placed against alternating sections of red and black enamel. The background for the figured plaques is decorated with a vermiculé pattern which is in reality a rinceau with palmettes. Another fine but slightly later vermiculé châsse in the Cleveland Museum illustrates the use of this background in a very different context with respect to both color and figure style.¹

Both plaques of the back of the Malval Châsse are decorated with a pattern of quatrefoils in enamel. The quatrefoils and their backgrounds alternate in color on a diagonal alignment, a feature which results in a very striking and pleasing visual effect. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier has suggested that the quatrefoils reflect similar motifs on antique sarcophagi in the Aquitaine. The transfer is a natural one, since the châsses may be viewed in part as sarcophagi in miniature for the remnants and relics of the saints.

The figured panels are the chief glory of the Malval Châsse. The story of the martyrdom of Saint Stephen, on the lower or terrestrial level, is vividly told in terms of intense blues, greens, and yellows with a few reds all organized in rhythmic patterns and curvilinear movement. The resulting configurations give visual embodiment to the story, especially the ardor and rage of the saint's assassins. Should there be any doubt as to the principals of the story, the figures of Saint Stephen and Saul are labeled. The saint looks upward to heaven as he crumples to his knees. The sloping roof above, the celestial level, is decorated with two magnificent angels with wings spread wide and holding a circle of yellow and green enamel which enframes a nude white orant figure. The scene represents the glorification of the purified soul of the Saint.

The Malval Châsse is a valuable document as a rare early

¹ William M. Milliken, "A Champlevé Enamel Châsse," CMA Bulletin, XLII (February 1955), 19–22, repr. 17, 20.

Limoges enamel created before mass production techniques affected a lessening of quality in many reliquaries of this size and shape. The present Châsse is noteworthy also because the heads were simply engraved and gilded. Separately cast and applied heads are known in earlier examples, as in the châsse at Gimel. The appliquéd heads became more and more the rule. In many later works the same model was used for heads applied to widely scattered châsses.

The treatment of the nude form of the soul of Saint Stephen lacks the elegance and greatness of the Cross by the Master of the Grandmont Altar (see cat. no. III-31). On the other hand, the creator of this Châsse makes up for this weakness in conveying a sense of animated movement. His individual treatment of the draperies, especially in the figure of Saul, demonstrates his awareness of the volume of the body and limbs. The curved lines serve to accent this volume.

We may be reminded of similar solutions in the treatment of the draped figure in movement seen in the Limoges manuscripts of circa 1100 as in the Sacramentary of the Cathedral of Saint Etienne (cat. no. III-3), and also the more contemporary Mosan enamels and certain French stone portal sculptures. The figure of Saul should be compared with the draped figures depicted in enamel on the foot of the Cross of Saint-Bertin, a Mosan work of circa 1170.² Saul also might be compared with some of the sculptures at Châlons-sur-Marne and the left tympanum at Mantes. The draperies of the angels supporting the soul of Saint Stephen on the Châsse should be considered in such comparisons, including especially the angels on the Mantes tympanum. Mosan art again comes to mind, as in a comparison with a large Mosan enamel plaque now in Boston which may have come from the base of Abbot Suger's Great Cross.³ One cannot prove any direct (Continued on page 358)

² Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (Chicago, 1954), pls. 178–179.

³ Rosalie B. Green, "Ex Unque Leonem," *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York, 1961), pp. 157–169.



Limousin, last quarter
12th century with additions
of 13th century

III 33 *Reliquary-Monstrance.* Copper gilt, champlevé and cloisonné enamel,
and rock crystal, H. 9-5/16, W. (of foot) 2-7/8 inches. Provenance:
Treasury of the Abbey of Grandmont; Chapel of Balesis (1575).
Saint-Sulpice-les-Feuilles (Haute Vienne), église.

Elongated, symmetrical, frontal, immobile, hieratic, are words one might use in describing the winged figure of the Reliquary from Saint-Sulpice. Yet these words are applicable to many Romanesque objects and architectural sculptures. The distinctive characteristic of this unique figure is its exquisite sculptural, linear, and color quality within the broader framework. The casting and chiseling of the drapery folds, edges and borders is carried out to a perfection which ought to revise any lingering American doubts about the possibilities of Limousin artistry, which at its best is on the same high level as work produced in the valleys of the Rhine and Meuse.

The figure is organized in terms of a series of vertically placed and inverted double-lined ellipses for folds and drapery edges. The rhythm of these is offset by the reversed ellipse of each of the wings, which bracket the figure with alternating patterns and imbrications of lapis blue, turquoise, red, and green enamel. The detailed engraving on the collar, in the pearly edges, the diapered inner surface of the right sleeve provide an added richness of surface. The hands, one upraised in an attitude of prayer, and the other holding a closed book, do not interrupt the cylindrical compactness

of the sculpture, reminiscent of columnar jamb figures in the Ile-de-France. The head is grave, staring out through beaded, dark enamel eyes. There is a certain majesty combined with the exquisite detail which at once recalls a larger and much more famous Limousin work of a similar date, the Reliquary Bust of Saint Baudime preserved at Saint Nectaire. The heads of the two figures should be closely compared both frontally and in profile as they have similar arch noses, high cheek bones, strong jaws, staring eyes, and caps of hair whose strands end in tight ringlets.

The crystal mounts, the crystal itself, and the base of the Saint-Sulpice Reliquary postdate by several generations the figure of the angel which originally may have been a corner appliquéd figure for a large shrine or reliquary. The fact that the wings are carefully chiseled on the backs to conform to the enamel decoration on the front suggests that the figure was not completely covered from the back, and if it were not for its frontality, it would be tempting to consider it as the angel Gabriel of the Annunciation (cf. cat. no. III-34). It is more likely simply one angel among several, now lost, or possibly it represents the winged man, symbol of Saint Matthew, according to Saint John's apocalyptic vision.



Languedoc, Toulouse,
last quarter 12th century

III 34 *Angel of the Annunciation*. Marble, H. 74, W. 25-5/8, D. 10-1/4
inches. Provenance: Convent of the Cordeliers, Toulouse. Toulouse
(Haute-Garonne), Musée des Augustins, Inv. 551a.

This relief and the Virgin which completes the group were installed in the Convent of the Cordeliers in 1210. The two sculptures were carved somewhat earlier. Their style parallels that of the chapter-house portal figures of the Abbey of La Daurade in Toulouse, datable circa 1180–1196. These figures have in common a solid massiveness, heavy angular drapery edges, converging flutings and ridges of long, tightly drawn folds, as well as a common treatment of hair masses, facial features, and hands. Especially comparable to the Angel in all these respects are the Virgin and Child relief and one of the columnar Old Testament kings, both from La Daurade.¹ While the entire La Daurade portal sequence and the Annunciation group may have come from one workshop, the quality of the Annunciation group is greatly superior. The Virgin and Angel must have been considered of greater importance from the beginning because, unlike the La Daurade pieces, they were carved in marble.

Vöge and others have suggested that the La Daurade portal sculptures show a strong dependence on the stylistic innovations utilized on the portals in the Ile-de-France. The La Daurade sculptural group seems to remain for the most part as merely provincial reflections, while in contrast the

¹ Paul Mesplé, *Les sculptures romanes, Toulouse, Musée des Augustins* (Paris, 1961), nos. 83, 91.

more creatively eclectic Annunciation group evokes a monumental drama and force of a very high order which in no way betrays the earlier promise of the Languedoc tradition (see cat. nos. III–4, 5).

The Toulouse Annunciation ensemble was apparently the model for a similar but weaker group with the composition reversed from the Cathedral of Lérida and now in the Museum at Lérida, Spain. The replica, if it is a replica, is useful in suggesting the iconography which is incomplete at Toulouse because the Virgin has lost her lower legs and the base support. The Toulouse Angel has been singled out for the fact that he stands on a dragon who bites a leafy branch. The Lérida Angel is similarly placed on a dragon, although the branch seems to have been omitted. The Lérida Virgin stands on a crouching lion. The Toulouse Virgin may have been similarly placed. We are reminded of the vividness with which a local Toulouse legend found embodiment in the marble bas-relief, the Sign of the Lion and the Ram (cat. no. III–4). In the Annunciation group of several generations later we can observe a similar preoccupation in the symbolic attributes and appeal of real and fantastic animals. The present context suggests the triumph of the incarnation of Christ (the lion) over the incarnation of Satan (the dragon).



Limousin, Limoges,
first quarter 13th century,
attributed to Master G. Alpais

III 35 *Eucharistic Coffret.* Copper gilt, champlevé enamel, H. 5-3/16, W. 8,
D. 4-15/16 inches. Provenance: Treasury of the Abbey at Grandmont.
Limoges (Haute-Vienne), Musée de Limoges, Inv. 267.

The Coffret shows a reversal of the earlier system of enameling in which enameled figures set against a gilt background are replaced by figures in reserve chiseled in the copper plaque, gilded, and surrounded by an enamel background. Low relief heads, cast and tooled, are fastened with rivets. The quality of individual enameled objects of this type varies greatly. Certainly the present object is one of the finest examples of enameling produced at Limoges. Furthermore, it is nearly unique in its form—a simple box with low roof sloping down to each of the four sides. Its decoration and internal components, however subtle, result in an exquisite simplicity and restraint. The four vertical faces of the terrestrial level are visually tied together by the rhythmic repetition of colors, shapes, and curves, especially evident in the repeated figures and mandorlas with flanking spandrels filled with angels. This punctuated sequence is given a different key, so to speak, on the celestial level in the roof panels with their repeated circles with angels and foliated rinceaux. Throughout, enameled flowers and discs maintain an over-all pattern.

The iconographical program, relating to the Incarnation of Christ and the triumph of the Church, results from the Coffret's purpose as a eucharistic container. Christ is shown on the principal face in glory with the Virgin and Saint Peter on either side. The Virgin is seated on a throne as *Ecclesia*, and Saint Peter is shown with his keys, symbol of the commission given him by Christ. Seated apostles with varying physiognomies complete the series on the other faces of the Coffret.

The Coffret's purpose as a eucharistic receptacle, according to Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, was a direct response to the development of the cult of the Holy Sacrament in the twelfth century. The Coffret served to protect the consecrated Host between masses and during the processions of Palm Sunday and Easter morning. This purpose is confirmed

not only by the iconography but also by the heavy gilding of the interior and the ring at the top from which it was hung over the altar. While still in the Treasury of the Abbey of Grandmont and between 1495 and 1639, the Coffret was used as a reliquary.

The Coffret has both Romanesque and early Gothic features. The division of terrestrial and celestial levels derived from Romanesque *châsses* is continued. The *schema* in its individual units is even older than the Romanesque period, having its roots in the Carolingian period. The frontality and general character of the figures are Romanesque, as is also the fact that most of the decoration emphasizes the surface plane of each side of the receptacle. On the other hand, the actual style of the draperies, as suggested by Mme. Gauthier, gives an independent illusion of volume and natural plausibility, features of the early Gothic. This was achieved by means of the careful cutting and burnishing of the folds in such a way that the light catches the different rounded planes and thus subtly gives a three-dimensional logic to each figure. The three-dimensional illusion of the seated figures is maintained in the careful orientation of the applied relief heads with that of the pose of the engraved and burnished draped body beneath.

Something of this illusion of modeling and volume can be seen in Romanesque art, to be sure. The difference in the Coffret is that the figures begin to emancipate themselves from the over-all pattern and involvement. They begin to reassert themselves as consistent entities of mass and volume and they begin to reaffirm the illusionistic interests of the Greek and Roman world conveyed via the intermediary inspiration of Byzantine art.

Mme. Gauthier has attributed the workmanship of the Coffret to G. Alpais, the same master who signed the Louvre's Ciborium from the Abbey of Montmajour.



Limousin, Limoges, ca. 1220–1225,
attributed to Master G. Alpais
and his workshop

III 36 Plaque from a Châsse showing the Crucifixion and the Martyrdom of
Saint Thomas Becket near the altar at Canterbury Cathedral,
December 29, 1170. Copper gilt, champlevé enamel, H. 6-5/8,
W. 11-3/16 inches. The Cleveland Museum of Art,
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 51.449.

The quality of the figures on the Cleveland Plaque, the front from a large châsse, is on a level nearly comparable to that of the Eucharistic Coffret (cat. no. III-35). Like the Coffret, the Plaque embodies both Romanesque and early Gothic features. Of particular importance in the treatment of the draped figures is their common use of the chisel and buren in effectively suggesting volume and plasticity. The applied heads, of the same high quality as those on the Coffret, also show a beginning use of naturalistic modeling. On a modest scale these interests seem to parallel to a certain degree early Gothic developments in sculpture in the Ile-de-France. Specific decorative details which recur in the Cleveland Plaque and other especially striking parallels, as in the depiction of the Virgin, suggest that the two works were produced in the same workshop reflecting the style and inclination of one master. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier has related the Coffret to the signed Ciborium in the Louvre from the Abbey of Montmajour. Extending this association to include the Cleveland Plaque, the points in common, especially the similar angels and applied heads, support an attribution of all three to one workshop under the master, G. Alpais.

The Cleveland Plaque shows that this master and his assistants were also gifted in depicting movement, as in the two assailants who dash towards the dignified figure of the Archbishop standing by the altar. The two to four knights depicted in Limoges enameled representations of the martyrdom of Saint Thomas Becket are generally shown in motion in this way but not always with such excellence. The two knights on the Cleveland Plaque in no way betray the French tradition of this leaping figure type, a point borne out in comparison both with late eleventh-century French manuscripts, decorated at Toulouse, Angers, and Saint-Omer, and with twelfth-century French frescoes, at Saint-Savin-sur-Gartemp (Vienne) and Saint Martin at Vic (Indre).¹

¹ (a) Flavius Josephus, *De Bello Judaico*, Toulouse, end of the eleventh century. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. lat. 5058, fol. 3. Repr. Jean Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures* (New York, 1959), pl. xix.

The Cleveland enamel Plaque is also notable because it is a rare, if not unique, example of an iconography which postulates a symbolic parallel between the Crucifixion and the martyrdom of Thomas Becket. Even before the Archbishop's death, one of his enemies figuratively suggested crucifixion for Thomas when asked by King Henry II Plantagenet.² Therefore it was not surprising when Mme. Gauthier pointed out that at the end of the twelfth century various texts emanating from Canterbury promulgated such a parallel.³ Certainly, these announcements were the more profound in purpose: Thomas in effect shared in the Passion by his own suffering and torture just prior to the moment of death. It is surprising that this deeper meaning had apparently no visual embodiment in this earlier period following Thomas's canonization in 1173. Neither have any other examples come to light in the more than thirty Limoges enameled châsses (or fragments of châsses) which depict the martyrdom scene and which were created within twenty years following the exhumation of the Archbishop's remains and the dispersal of relics in 1220.⁴

(b) *Bible*, Angers, end of the eleventh century. Bibliothèque d'Angers, MS. no. 4. Pierre d'Herbécourt and Jean Porcher, *Anjou roman* (Pierre-qui-Vire, Zodiaque, 1959), pl. 2.

(c) *Vie de Saint Omer*, end of the eleventh century. Saint Omer, MS. 698, fol. 34. Repr. Jean Porcher (1959), pl. xxi.

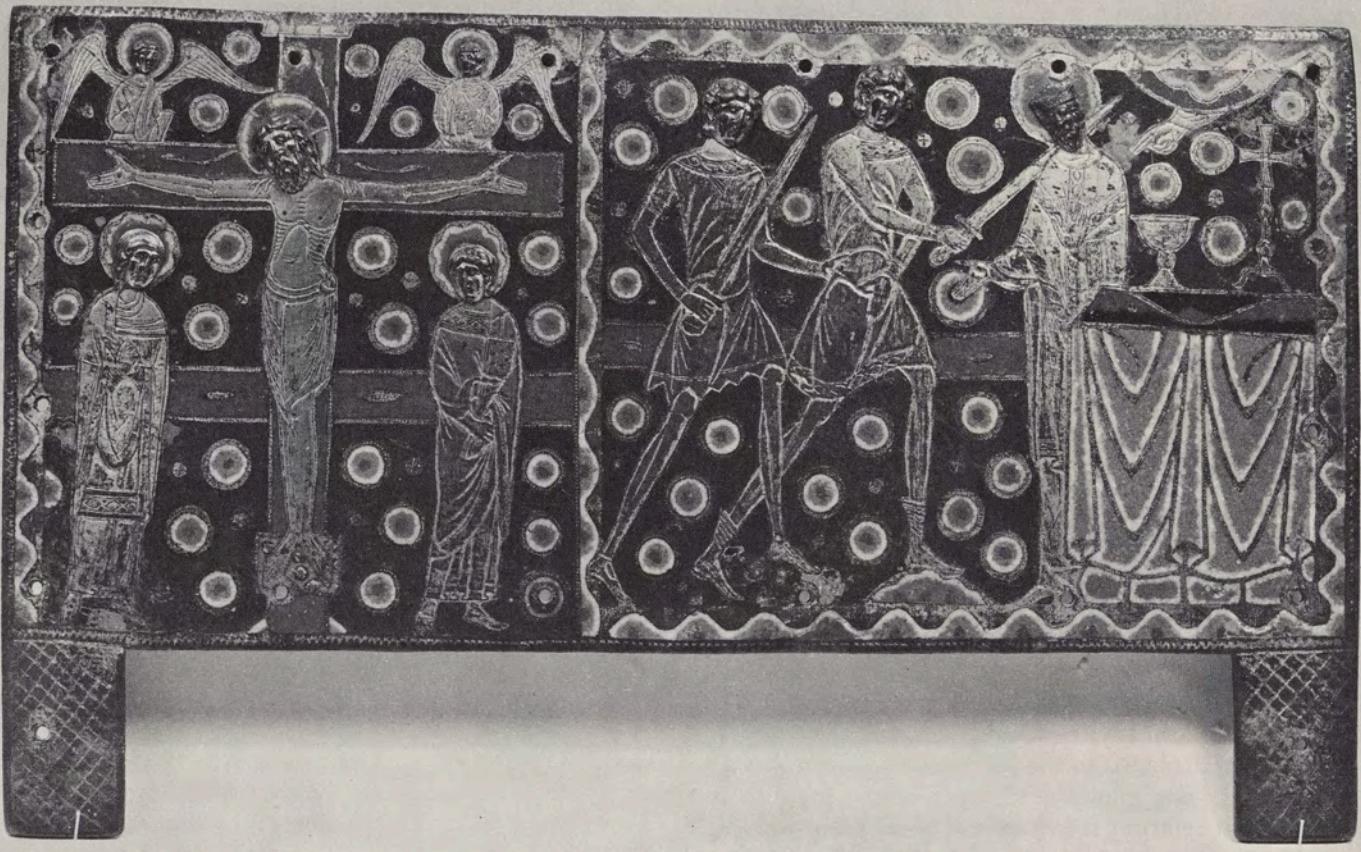
(d) *Frescoes*, circa 1100. Church at Saint-Savin-sur-Gartemp (Vienne). Paul-Henri Michel, *Romanesque Wall Paintings in France* (Paris, 1949), pl. 42.

(e) *Frescoes*, second half of the twelfth century. Church of Saint Martin, Vic (Indre). André Grabar and Carl Nordenfalk, *Romanesque Painting* (Lausanne, 1958), p. 93 repr.

² Thomas P. F. Hoving, "A Newly Discovered Reliquary of Saint Thomas Becket," *Gesta*, iv (December 1965), 29.

³ Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, unpublished statement, July 1, 1966.

⁴ Tancred Borenius, *St. Thomas Becket in Art* (London, 1932), pp. 88–92; Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, *Emaux limousins champlevés XII^e, XIII^e, et XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1950), p. 38.



Ile-de-France,
ca.1180 (Sauerländer)
or ca.1190–1195 (Bony)

III 37 *Bearded Head of a Prophet (Moses?)*. Stone, H. 17 inches.
Provenance: Central portal of the west facade of the Collégiale
Notre-Dame de Mantes. Mantes (Seine-et-Oise), Dépôt de la
Collégiale Notre-Dame.

Discovered in 1852 during the demolitions in the prison at Mantes, this monumental Head is thought to have belonged to one of the columnar jamb figures which once ornamented the central portal of the Collégiale Notre-Dame at Mantes.¹ Marcel Aubert compared this Head with a similar but smaller head which he believed to have come from the west portal of the Cathedral at Senlis (Oise) and which has been dated 1185 to 1190, prior to the dedication of 1191. Aubert saw a dependence of the carving of the Head at Mantes upon that of Senlis, and he dated the Mantes Head in the last decade of the century. Aubert compared the curls over the brow and the cascade of long locks down the back which are echoed in the beard at the front. Certain features were given a common emphasis in the globular eyes, the subtle differentiation of upper and lower eyelids, and the thick, projecting lips. He also found in both heads a reminder of the extraordinary Romanesque figures at Souillac, Beaulieu, and Moissac. While assuming the Mantes Head to be later than that of Senlis, Aubert attributed to the Mantes Head a firmness of modeling and "une grandeur et une noblesse incomparables." Without belittling the eloquence of the Mantes Head, it is only fair to say that it is better preserved than the Senlis head in question, which has suffered especially through the pitting of the surfaces of the flesh areas. The Mantes Head may be that of Moses, as suggested by Willibald Sauerländer.²

Wilhelm Vöge, Emile Mâle, Marcel Aubert, and Jean Bony have stated that the central portal at Mantes depends on Senlis in iconography and composition of the tympanum and archivolts.³ Professor Bony credited the Mantes sculp-

¹ Marcel Aubert, "Têtes gothiques Senlis et de Mantes," *Bulletin monumental*, xcvi (1938), 8–9.

² Willibald Sauerländer, "Die Marienkrönungsportale von Senlis und Mantes," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, xx (1958), 148 ff., fig. 89.

³ See Louis Grodecki, "La 'Première sculpture gothique' Wilhelm Vöge et l'état actual des problèmes," *Bulletin monumental*, cxvii (1959), 283–284.

tural atelier, apparently the third at Mantes, with a calmness and certain innovations in the rendering of drapery found subsequently in the left façade portal, called the portal of Saint John, at Sens (Yonne).⁴ Bony acknowledged not only a *filiation Mantes-Sens*, but also *filiation Senlis-Mantes* and *filiation Mantes-Rouen*, the latter proposed earlier by Camille Enlart.

That the cross-fertilizations of styles, compositions, and iconographies relative to the sculptural decoration of church portals is indeed complex is further underscored by Sauerländer's observation of a dependence of the Mantes portals on the earlier Porte des Valois at Saint-Denis. The impact of this portal at Saint-Denis was most clearly felt on the earliest portal at Mantes, the north side doorway of the façade. Sauerländer also proposed a Mosan origin for the style of the Porte des Valois and the Mantes portals. The Mosan "influence," a controversial point, has already been considered anew in relation to Cleveland's Column Figure from Châlons-sur-Marne (cat. no. III–27). The Mantes Head in the exhibition provides another opportunity to test this hypothesis with many of the same comparisons.

Sauerländer also argued for an earlier dating of the Mantes Head in keeping with the dating for the entire central portal which he prefers to place circa 1180.⁵ Sauerländer compared the Mantes Head with the busts in relief in the five medallions decorating the face of a sarcophagus in the north crossing of Saint Pierre de Lisieux. This sarcophagus may have been made for Archbishop Arnoul de Lisieux (1141–1181), whose humanistic taste may explain the style of the heads and their pseudo-antique character. In these two works, the Lisieux sarcophagus and the Mantes Head, we may observe with Sauerländer what Henri Focillon called a "humanisme gothique."

⁴ Jean Bony, "La Collégiale de Mantes, les circonstances historiques," *Congrès Archéologique*, civ (1946), 202.

⁵ Willibald Sauerländer, "Art antique et sculpture autour de 1200 Saint-Denis, Lisieux, Chartres," *Art de France*, i (1961), 51, figs. 15, 16.



Provence,
Saint-Gilles, ca.1183–1190

III 38 *Group of Apostles and Angels.* Stone, in two pieces, H. 59-1/8,
W. 20-1/8 and H. 55-1/8, W. 16-1/2 inches. Provenance: Tympanum
of the portal of the Church of Saint Martin, Saint-Gilles. Saint-Gilles (Gard),
Musée de la maison romane.

Discovered in the wall of an old house in Saint-Gilles in October 1949, this fragmentary Relief in two adjoining sections has great interest for the study of late Romanesque sculpture in the Midi. The Relief apparently represents two out of seven or eight large stone panels which constituted the tympanum of the former church of Saint-Martin at Saint-Gilles. This church was located not far from the famous Abbey Church with its great Romanesque façade, whose apostle statues of circa 1170 were signed by the sculptor P. Brunus. Marcel Gouron has assigned the carving of the portal for the more modest structure to a period of 1183–1190, following the siege of Fourques mounted by the king of Aragon and during the subsequent peace guaranteed by Count Raymond v of Saint-Gilles, who had then reunited the eastern parts of his domains.¹ The style of these Relief fragments, according to Gouron, who was the first to publish them, is a complex one, representing probably two separate ateliers working in Saint-Gilles. The first may be that of a local atelier which reflected in a loose, generalized fashion antique drapery style. The heaviness of the folds and parallel pleats seem to signify a local atelier which also had worked on the draperies of the figures in the Last Supper scene on the central portal of the Abbey Church. The heads, according to Gouron, denote another atelier, an itinerate and more gifted one, which also contributed to the carving in the larger sculptural program of the central portal at the Abbey Church.

The Saint-Martin tympanum undoubtedly represented the Last Judgment, with the central figure of Christ as Judge barely raised above the apostles gathered on either side with their gaze transfixed by his awesome glory. Behind them were angels bearing the instruments of the Passion which were the

¹ Marcel Gouron, "Decouverte du Tympan de l'église Saint-Martin à Saint-Gilles," *Annales du Midi*, LXII (April 1950), 115–120; Richard Hamann, *Die Abteikirche von St. Gilles und ihre künstlerische Nachfolge* (Berlin, 1955), I, 251–254, abb. 320. Hamann dates the Relief between the reliefs at the abbey church at Saint-Gilles and the Renunciation of Peter relief at Saint-Guilhem, a date which he gives as before 1152.

paraphernalia and attributes of the central figure, as they are in the Last Judgment painted centuries later by Michelangelo. The present Relief shows two of the angels, now headless but still bearing the nails and crown of thorns whose sacred value is accented by the fact that they hold them outstretched in mantle-covered hands, a detail traditional in ivories and manuscript illuminations since Carolingian times. The two Relief angels must have once turned towards each other, and the powerful contrapposto movement of the angel on the left is in contrast to the more reverent, prayerful, if astonished, stance of the overlapped figures below. The audacious conception of the subject and the apparently splendid working out of the compositional space make this tympanum an important subject for study in relation to a whole series of Last Judgment portals which characterize some of the great French Romanesque portals in Languedoc, at Conques, in Burgundy, and in the Ile-de-France.

Marcel Gouron has rightly emphasized the individual expressiveness as well as the attributes of the four apostles shown on the present Relief. The first, at the left, he identifies as Saint Paul because of his baldness, long beard, hands rhetorically positioned, and his garments and his drapery-slung arm suggestive of a classical orator portrait. Gouron compares the physiognomy of the second with the Saint Andrew of the Lazarus tomb at Autun carved by the monk Martin between 1170 and 1189. He relates the actual style of this head with the possibly later sculptures at Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert, a comparison in keeping with Richard Hamann's suggestion that the ateliers at Saint-Gilles influenced Saint-Guilhem. Also, the head of the second apostle of the present Relief can be compared with some of the Christ heads in the portal reliefs of the Abbey Church at Saint-Gilles. The third head, beardless and youthful, may be that of Saint John. The fourth head, while not identified, is compared by Gouron with the Saint Trophime figure in the cloister at Arles datable before 1188.

(Continued on page 359)



CHAPTER FOUR

High Gothic Synthesis and the New Monumental Art

That scholarly preconceptions can sometimes prevent the rightful recognition of fragmented and dispersed monuments is underscored by the excellent detective work of Eleanor S. Greenhill who has not only identified the long-admired monumental Head now in Chicago, but has dramatically rescued from scholarly oblivion two monumental torsos from the same source, the Judgment Portal of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Paris.¹ The blinding preconception prior to this discovery was the late dating of this Portal in its entirety to circa 1220 or later. Willibald Sauerländer broke away from such a position in 1959, when he isolated what he believed to be the earlier parts of the Portal, datable circa 1200 and including all of the surviving sculptures below the level of the tympanum and archivolts.² This includes the reliefs of the Vices and Virtues on the socles of the jambs and the architectural carving of the bases, capitals, and baldachins.

The columnar jamb figures were thought to have been entirely lost at the time of the Revolution. These figures, a series of apostles, were recorded in part as early as circa 1500 by the Master of Saint Giles in a panel painting in Washington and in the eighteenth century by Gabriel de Saint Aubin. Now Dr. Greenhill has presented in the three important fragments a clear idea of the character and significance of the missing apostles, the most important ensemble of the sculptural campaign on the lower portions of the Judgment Portal. Her study corroborates Professor Sauerländer's dating.

The Chicago Head of creamy tan stone is remarkable for its "combination of Jovian loftiness and—in the furrowed brow and sensitive, half open lips—poignant humanity," to quote from Dr. Greenhill. Its subtle modeling suggests an internal life. Yet its proportions and physiognomic features

are part of the reinterpretation of the antique, which has already been noticed in the Head lent from Mantes (cat. no. III-37). While comparing the Chicago Head to a more closely related Head from Sens,³ also influenced by the antique, Dr. Greenhill observes an "organic concept of the human form: sculpturally rather than graphically rendered strands of hair, not rendered according to the strict laws of symmetry nor fitting the head tightly like a cap, but *aerated*; further, a tilting and turning which must have been accompanied by a marked *contrapposto*; and transitions which are gradual and rounded as in nature."

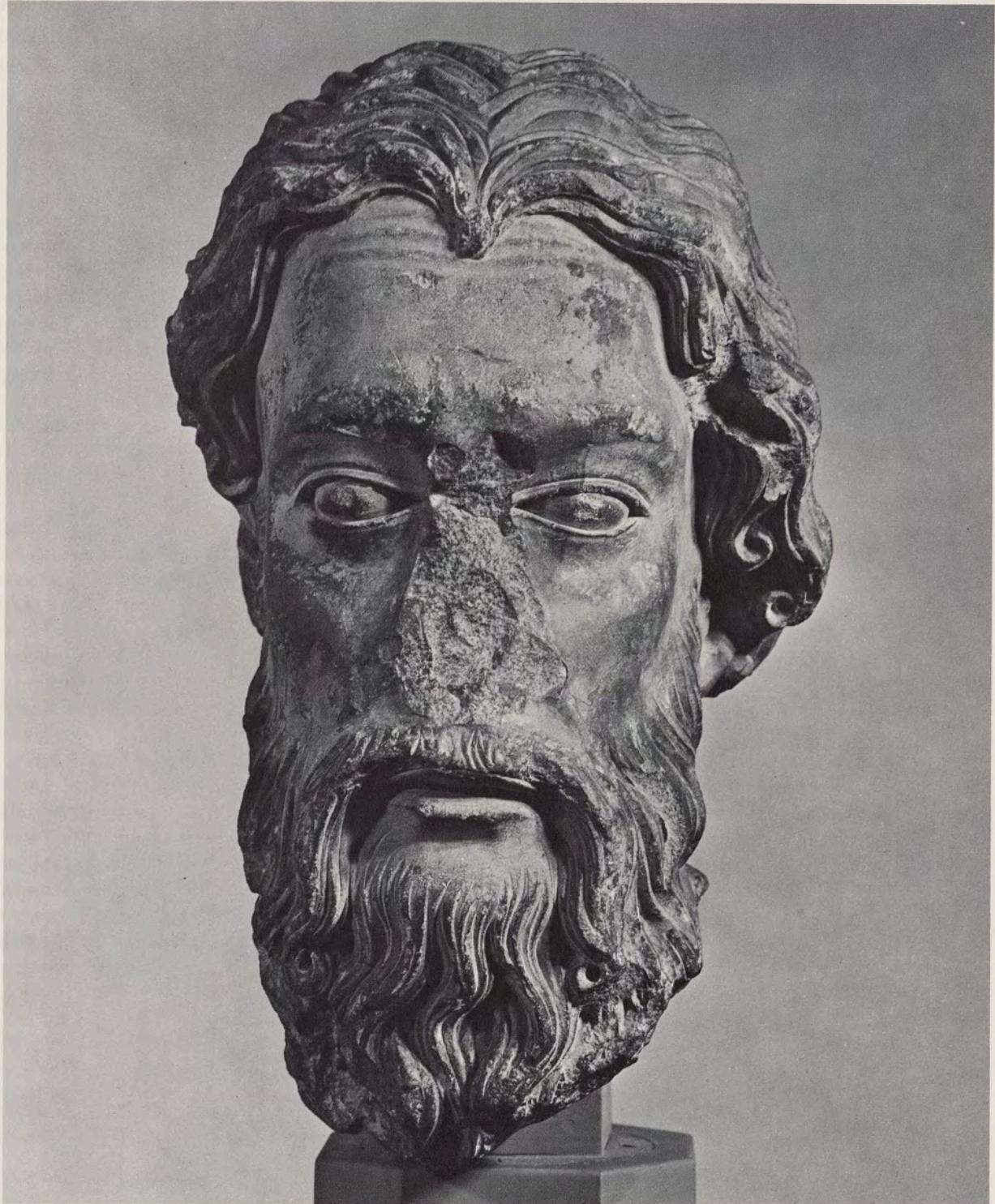
Of the two monumental torsos now in Paris museums, the one in the Musée Lapidaire of the Carnavalet is the body for the Chicago Head, according to Dr. Greenhill. The combined evidence of this reconstituted figure, the other torso, and the painted and graphic records from before the Revolution all agree in the picture reconstructed by Dr. Greenhill of the apostles as monumental, elongated figures which stood and gestured easily, their heads turned and hung forward or tipped back, and which were clothed with clinging, classicistic draperies. A photograph of the Carnavalet torso is shown in the exhibition to help clarify this analysis. Part of the background for these figures includes the development of the columnar figure in the Ile-de-France, in Burgundy, and in Champagne (cat. nos. III-15, 16, 27). The torsos of the Judgment Portal continue the columnar emphasis, but they also now begin to free themselves from the architectural setting, moving on their own as evident in the previously noted *contrapposto* and in the fact that the Chicago Head was originally turned to the left and hung forward, an observation of Dr. Greenhill's which explains its asymmetrical peculiarities.

The revised dating of circa 1200 for the lower portions of the Judgment Portal naturally has important ramifications in the chronologies and conceptions of the development of style in the first half of the thirteenth century. Sauerländer (Continued on page 359)

¹ Eleanor S. Greenhill, "The Provenance of a Gothic Head at the Art Institute of Chicago," *Art Bulletin*, XLVIII (June 1966). The quotations from this study were taken from Dr. Greenhill's paper prior to publication.

² Willibald Sauerländer, "Die Kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Westportale von Nôtre-Dame de Paris," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, VII (1959), 1-56.

³ *Cathédrales* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1962), no. 38.



Limousin, Limoges,
second decade 13th century

IV 2 *Plaque: Death of the Virgin.* Gilt copper and champlevé enamel,
H. 10-1/4, W. 7-7/8 inches. Inscription: REGINA MVNDI DE TERRIS
ET DE. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des objets d'art, cat. 92.

This large Plaque displays a technique similar to that of the Eucharistic Coffret and the Becket Plaque (cat. nos. III-35, 36), in which the figures are chiseled, and burnished areas of reserve copper gilt surrounded by a decorative enameled background. Again we can observe the reflection of light on the engraved drapery edges, features, hair, hands, books, and tapers. We are given a plausible suggestion of a shallow spatial ambiance in which the apostles cluster and overlap as they press against the recumbent figure of the Virgin. The expressive function of the engraved and burnished line is as important here as in the Coffret or Becket Plaque, although there is a significant stylistic difference.

The Louvre Plaque is perhaps one of the earliest examples of the inroads of the classicistic style inspired by Byzantine art in the Limousin. The Plaque reflects indirectly the earlier developments in the Northeast in manuscripts, metalwork, and enamels at the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century. The work of Nicholas of Verdun comes to mind, especially his great and famous Altar at Klosterneuburg of before 1181. This style came to have important ramifications in the Ile-de-France. A comparison may be made with the sculptural decoration of the central portal of the north transept of Chartres. The artists of these Chartres sculptures and the enamelist have much in common. They both depend upon, but are also a little removed from, a more clearly classicistic, pseudo-Byzantine stylistic treatment of the bearded draped figure as seen in the works of Nicholas of Verdun or as in the torsos from the Judgment Portal of Notre-Dame in Paris. The Chartres sculptors and Limoges artist give their works a firmer, less nervous modeling. However, the enamelist does come especially close to a Byzantine iconography of the Virgin which probably was easily available to him in manuscripts, enamels, or ivories brought from the east. In fact, if it were not for the absence of the figure of Christ holding the Virgin's soul, we might surmise that the iconographical composition was copied from a Byzantine ivory of the same subject.

Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier has compared the style and

technique of the Louvre Plaque with two gabled plaques, each bearing inscriptions from the Psalms and showing two seated nimbed and crowned figures holding palms.¹ One of these is in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, the other in the Kofler collection in Lucerne. The three plaques undoubtedly come from the same Limousin workshop if not from the same hand. However, certain discrepancies prevent consideration of them as part of the same shrine or large châsse. The gabled plaques are nearly the same height as the Louvre Plaque, thus precluding the possibility that they were the transept or façade ends of such a hypothetical châsse which might have included the Louvre Plaque as one of its walls. Also there are differences in ornamental detail, and the gabled plaques utilize two horizontal bands in reverse (one with the inscription) which cut across the middle of the composition, a feature lacking from the Louvre Plaque. However, the gabled plaques are helpful in indicating a date for the Louvre Plaque. Mme. Gauthier suggests that, because they include four martyred saints, the Cambridge and Lucerne plaques may have been executed for a martyrium church in Rome circa 1215, when Innocent III was favoring artists from the Limousin in the Basilica of Saint Peter.²

The Louvre Plaque should be appreciated for its own intrinsic merit. Its borrowings from Byzantine art and its debt to the classicistic movement of the Lorraine and the Ile-de-France are creatively adapted and utilized within an indigenous Limousin idiom, both with respect to technique and to expressive and decorative features peculiar to the Limousin. Its compositional entity is one of harmonious and repeated rhythms of color and line which emphasize both the flatness of the Plaque and the shallow space-volume frieze-like sequence.

That the Louvre Plaque was once part of a series of similar plaques is suggested by the fragmentary inscription. It may have come from an altar frontal or retable.

¹ Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, *Emaux limousins* (Paris, 1950), p. 49.

² Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, unpublished statement, dated July 1, 1966.



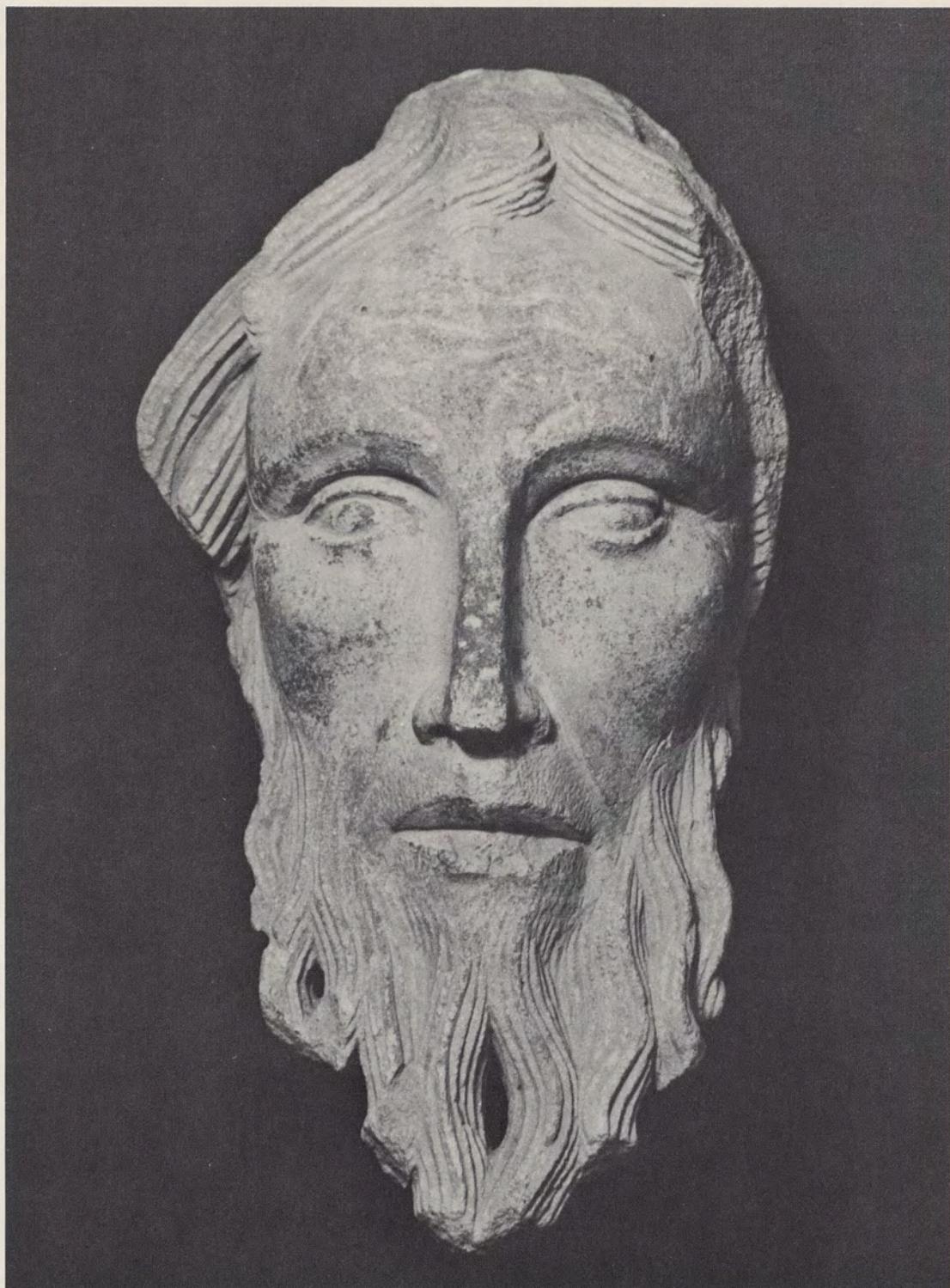
Ile-de-France, Senlis,
ca.1200–1215

IV 3 *Head of a Prophet (?)*. Stone, H. 13, W. 7, D. 6-1/4 inches. Provenance: Found in the ground not far from the Cathedral of Senlis.
Senlis (Oise), Musée de Haubergier.

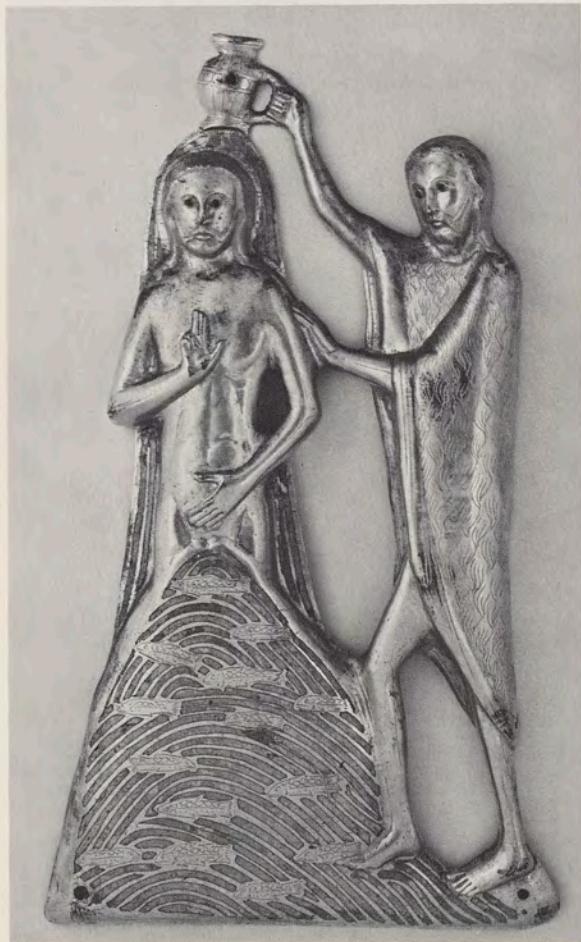
Enigmatic, mask-like, yet lyric and gentle, this beautiful Head has long puzzled and intrigued historians of art. Found near the Cathedral at Senlis, Marcel Aubert first considered that it came from one of the west portal figures of the Cathedral, perhaps from the figure of Saint John the Baptist. M. Aubert subsequently changed his opinion, feeling that the Head postdated this portal which must have been completed before 1191. Noting a parallel in the heads of prophets at the central door of the north transept at Chartres, he revised his dating of the Senlis fragment to sometime within the first fifteen years of the thirteenth century. It is still difficult to determine whether it depicts a prophet, an apostle, John the Baptist, or the head of Christ, possibly from an early trumeau *Beau Dieu* figure. Also shrouded in mystery is its original context, which may prove to be one of the thirteenth-century transept

portals of the Cathedral, both of which were replaced in flamboyant Gothic style in the sixteenth century. Mlle. F. Amanieux, Conservateur of the Musée Haubergier, suggests also the possibility of the ancient Church of Saint Rieul at Senlis.

Despite all these questions, we can still enjoy the Head for its inherent character—the firm, undulating and grooved clumps of the beard and hair, the ascetic appearance of the elongated, slightly emaciated face, the timeless and unflinching gaze of the eyes which retain traces of the original paint, and the tightly pursed yet fleshy lips, sealed forever from any utterance. While the romantic in us wishes he could speak, we may prefer to resign ourselves to silent appreciation of this elegant simplicity and distant nobility.



- Limousin, Limoges,
second decade 13th century.
- Five Groups of Relief Appliquéd
Gilt copper, inlaid enamel eyes
- IV 4 *Baptism of Christ*. Also with champlevé enamel, H. 14-1/2, W. 8-1/4 inches. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 50.858.
- IV 5 *The Last Supper*. H. 13, W. 11-13/16 inches. Paris, Musée National des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny, no. 973.
- IV 6 *The Betrayal of Christ*. H. 13-3/4, W. 10-9/16 inches. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 53.10.
- IV 7 *The Flagellation of Christ*. H. 12-5/8 inches. Paris, Musée National des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny, no. 942.
- IV 8 *The Entombment of Christ*. H. 11-1/2, W. 11 inches. Minneapolis Institute of Arts.



The small cast appliquéd heads initiated into service in Limoges enamels as early as 1170 may have been the true ancestors for this seemingly grandiose series of cast and tooled appliquéd reliefs. Even the eyes of deep blue enamel beads continue in the later works. Yet this series of reliefs, now dispersed on both sides of the Atlantic, are hardly the result of tradition effortlessly continuing in time. Rather their creative impact, with its expression of nobility and natural grace, must be only the direct result of a great innovator who was able to command all of the skills of the older art into a new monumental entity. The works of this type are not exactly alone, because in essence they are a relief counterpart

to the Louvre Plaque (cat. no. IV-2) in their style, their suggestion of spirituality, and their feeling for human drama. A comparison of the Louvre Plaque with the relief of the Entombment of Christ from Minneapolis clearly reveals this similarity, even though the relief example in this case spaces the figures in a more open composition. However, the overlapping of clustered figures in the Louvre Plaque does occur in the Last Supper and Betrayal reliefs.

The figure style in all these objects is an early Limousin version of a classicistic, pseudo-Byzantine style. The style in the hands of the Limoges artist-craftsmen takes on a firmness and simplification. The rhythms are measured; the char-



acteristic hooks and animated flutings of the draperies of Nicholas of Verdun and the painter of Queen Ingeborg's Psalter are not yet echoed in these Limoges works. The closest parallel in manuscript form is a work of the early thirteenth century, a series of excerpted manuscript illustrations for the life of Christ now in the Pierpont Morgan Library (M. 44). These manuscript paintings closely reflect both the composition of the earlier stained-glass windows at Chartres dating from circa 1150–1160, as well as some hints of the classicistic draperies of the early thirteenth-century sculptures. The fact that the manuscript was once in the Collégiale of Saint Martin at Limoges suggests a consideration of a possible

source of inspiration at Chartres for the Limoges reliefs. The strongest inspiration might have come from Chartres glass and sculptures of the first decades of the thirteenth century.

The five Limoges reliefs are gathered together for the first recorded occasion known. Other works might be considered with them as products of the same master and workshop. For example, the same expressive and technical similarities may be observed in: 1) a group of apostles, $10\frac{5}{8}$ inches high and formerly in the Martin Le Roy collection, 2) a Presentation relief, 12 inches high, formerly in the Spitzer collection and now in the Musée Jacquemart-André at Châlons, and 3) a single draped figure, 12 inches high, in the Musée des



Beaux-Arts at Poitiers.¹ The late Georg Swarzenski was the first to propose that the five reliefs shown here may have come from one single shrine or retable.² The latter sugges-

¹ See J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Catalogue raisonné de la collection Martin le Roy*, vol. 1: *Orfèvrerie et émaillerie* (Paris, 1906), no. 37, pl. xxvii; Emile Molinier, *La collection Spitzer*, vol. 1: *Orfèvrerie religieuse* (Paris, 1890), p. 112, no. 46; Marc Sandoz, *Catalogue d'art pré-roman et roman du Musée des Beaux-Arts* (Poitiers, 1959), no. 44, pl. xii. The relief at Chaalis was first brought into relationship with the five larger reliefs by Hanns Swarzenski.

² Georg Swarzenski, "A Masterpiece of Limoges," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, XLIX (February 1951), 17–25.

tion, or that of an altar frontal, seems more likely because of the great size presupposed for such an ensemble, at present very incomplete. The program, judging from the five preserved reliefs, undoubtedly illustrated the life and passion of Christ. The assembled works provide a unique opportunity to reconsider this hypothesis. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier has hinted that we should bear in mind a consideration of the destroyed ensembles formerly at Bourganeuf and at the Collégiale of Saint Martial at Limoges.³

³ Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, unpublished statement dated July 1, 1966, which also suggested a date for the series in the second decade of the thirteenth century.



Upper Rhine, Strasbourg, ca.1220

IV 9 *Head of a Prophet or an Apostle.* Limestone, H. 12-5/8 inches.

Provenance: Portal of the south transept of the Cathedral of Strasbourg. Strasbourg (Bas-Rhin), Musée de l’Oeuvre Notre-Dame.

In its general format, the double portal of the south transept at the Strasbourg Cathedral is late Romanesque, yet in its original sculpture it was Gothic in style. Two groups of sculptures, dating successively at the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, were once combined in this decoration. Recorded in an engraving of 1617 by Isaak Brunns, these sculptures have mostly been either destroyed or removed to the Musée de l’Oeuvre Notre-Dame. The earlier group included the jamb figures of prophets and apostles carved circa 1220. Three bearded heads are preserved in this series.

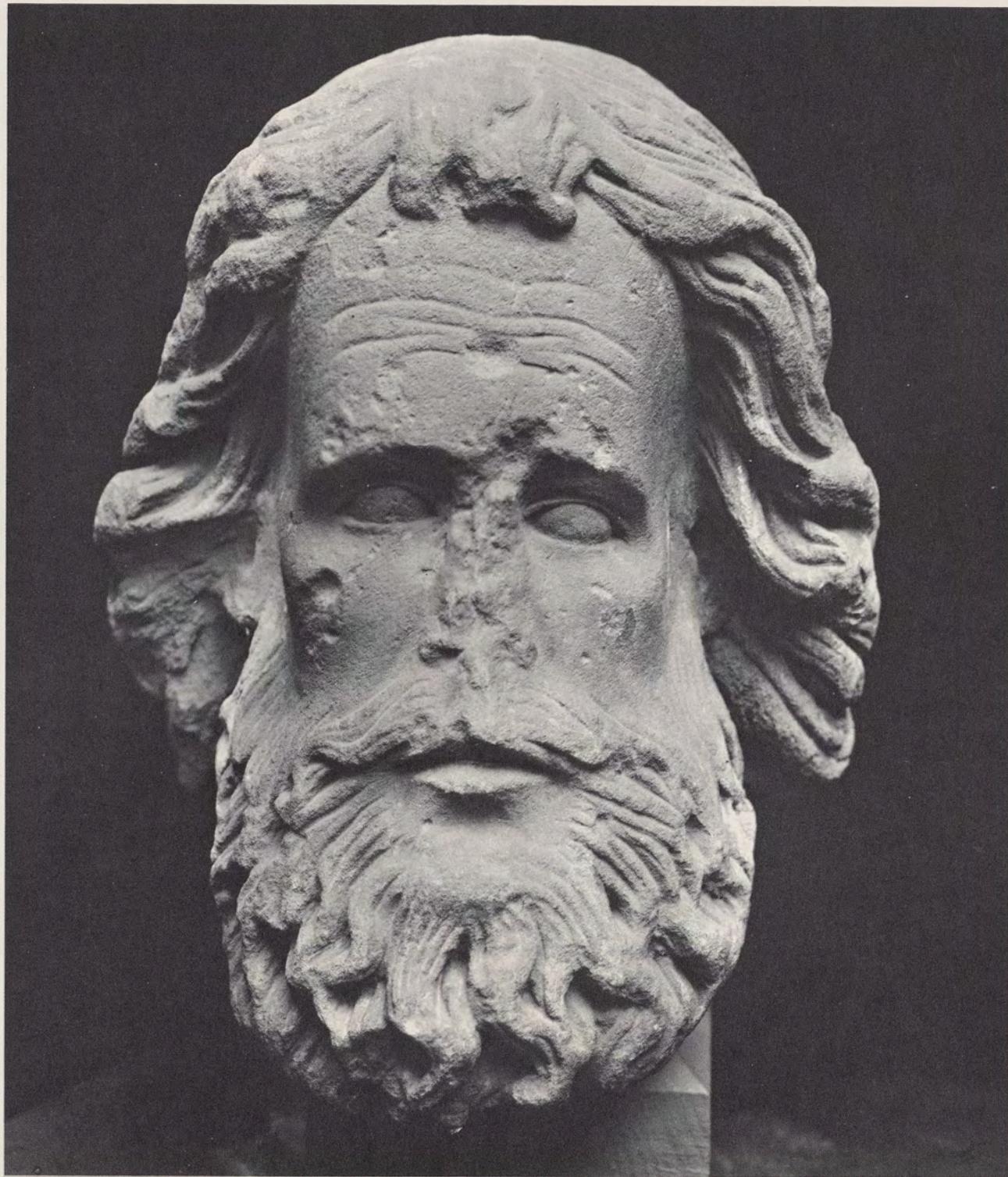
Of these, the Head shown here is especially notable for its continuation of features already observed in the Head from the Judgment Portal of Notre-Dame in Paris (cat. no. IV-1). These include a classicistic idealism combined with a sensitivity for organic sculpture as seen in the undulations and flow of the flesh areas and of the hair and beard. The Strasbourg master repeats the furrowed brow and in so doing expresses a sense of muted anguish or pathos. Also, he anticipates his late Gothic successor Nikolaus Gerhaert von Leyden by his exquisite attention to the expressive nuances of chiaroscuro.

Rudolf Kautzsch was the first to attempt to trace an immediate source of this style in three stone busts from the Collégiale Sainte-Madeleine at Besançon in Burgundy, which

in turn have been related to contemporary sculptural developments at Chartres.

The second group of sculptures of the Strasbourg south portals is that of the famous “Ecclesia Master,” whose figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga flanked the entire double portal complex. These monumental figures and also this master’s carvings in the two tympana grow out of the style of the earlier group but also have been said to receive new inspiration from Chartres. On the other hand, as Erwin Panofsky has shown, there is also an awareness of Byzantine art seen perhaps through the eyes of the artist of the Psalter of Queen Ingeborg of circa 1200.

In fact, it hardly seems necessary to go to Burgundy and all the way to Chartres as well to trace the stylistic origins of both sculptural sequences of the Strasbourg south portals. This style, which is both classicistic and humanistic, had deep roots in the northeast areas for a long time—not only in the Ingeborg Psalter but also in the metalwork of Nicholas of Verdun and the manuscript paintings of Anchin. Furthermore, it would seem that if any revitalization or inspiration came from the Ile-de-France, it would have come from the atelier of the jamb figures of the Judgment Portal of Notre-Dame of Paris, which in itself may have been trained in the northeast regions (see cat. no. IV-1).



Lyonnaise, ca.1225

IV 10 *Head of the Prophet Jeremiah.* Stained glass, H. 26-3/8, W. 32-1/4 inches. Provenance: Probably from a choir window of the Cathedral of Lyon. Paris, Dépôt des Monuments historiques.

Current opinion states that this stained-glass panel represents the Prophet Jeremiah and that it comes from the second window on the south side of the choir of the Cathedral of Lyon. It was probably removed between 1848 and 1850 by the restorer Thibaud.

Monumental in scale and impressive, this bearded Head, along with the figure of which it was originally a part, was meant to be seen at a great distance, from the floor of the cathedral below. Its impact depends on its simplified, brilliant color ensemble, especially accenting the blues and reds which effectively set off the white glass of the Head. The latter is indeed the focal point despite the surrounding decorations. The eyes are large and penetrating and the linear treatment of the hair and beard give the Head a different texture as well as a certain three-dimensional force. All of these traits may be observed in the glass of the early thirteenth century

at Chartres and at Strasbourg. The present panel has been compared with the prophets below the south rose window at Chartres of circa 1200. However, the execution in the Lyon fragment is more summary.

The style of the Head in this panel may be compared in its expressive linear emphasis with that of the roughly contemporary Limoges enamel Plaque showing the Death of the Virgin, from the Louvre (cat. no. IV-2). For example, the head of the Apostle supporting the head of the Virgin might be studied in relation with that of the Lyon Jeremiah. The forceful physiognomies of both depend ultimately if not directly on Byzantine art. However, there is a creative force and aesthetic not found in Byzantine art. The expressive linearism and dramatic use of intense color background in each work is internally enlivened by subsidiary curvilinear and color motifs.



Champagne, Reims, ca.1220–1230

IV 11 *Head of a Bishop.* Limestone, H. 9-1/2 inches. Provenance: Voussoir of the portal of Saint-Sixte, Cathedral of Reims. Reims (Marne), Dépôt lapidaire de la Cathédrale.

Detached during World War I from a voussoir belonging to an intermediate coping of the portal of Saint-Sixte of the north transept façade, this Head fragment shows another facet of portal sculpture in France. It illustrates a seeming archaism in the simple carving of the eyes and in the primitive miter. However, the hair and beard are aerated and especially rich in depth of cutting. This characteristic and also the refined and almost delicate treatment of the nose, lips, and forehead suggest a date near the beginning of the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The hint of a psychological intensity, possibly of anguish, conveyed by the furrowed brow continues a tradition evident also in the earlier heads from Notre-Dame of Paris and the Cathedral of Strasbourg (see cat. nos. IV-1, 9). Francis Salet has related the series of heads to which the present Head belongs with the more robust, simple, and less emotional heads at Amiens.¹

¹ Francis Salet, "De Senlis à Reims, Second moitié du XIII^e siècle," *Cathédrales* (Paris, 1962), p. 58.



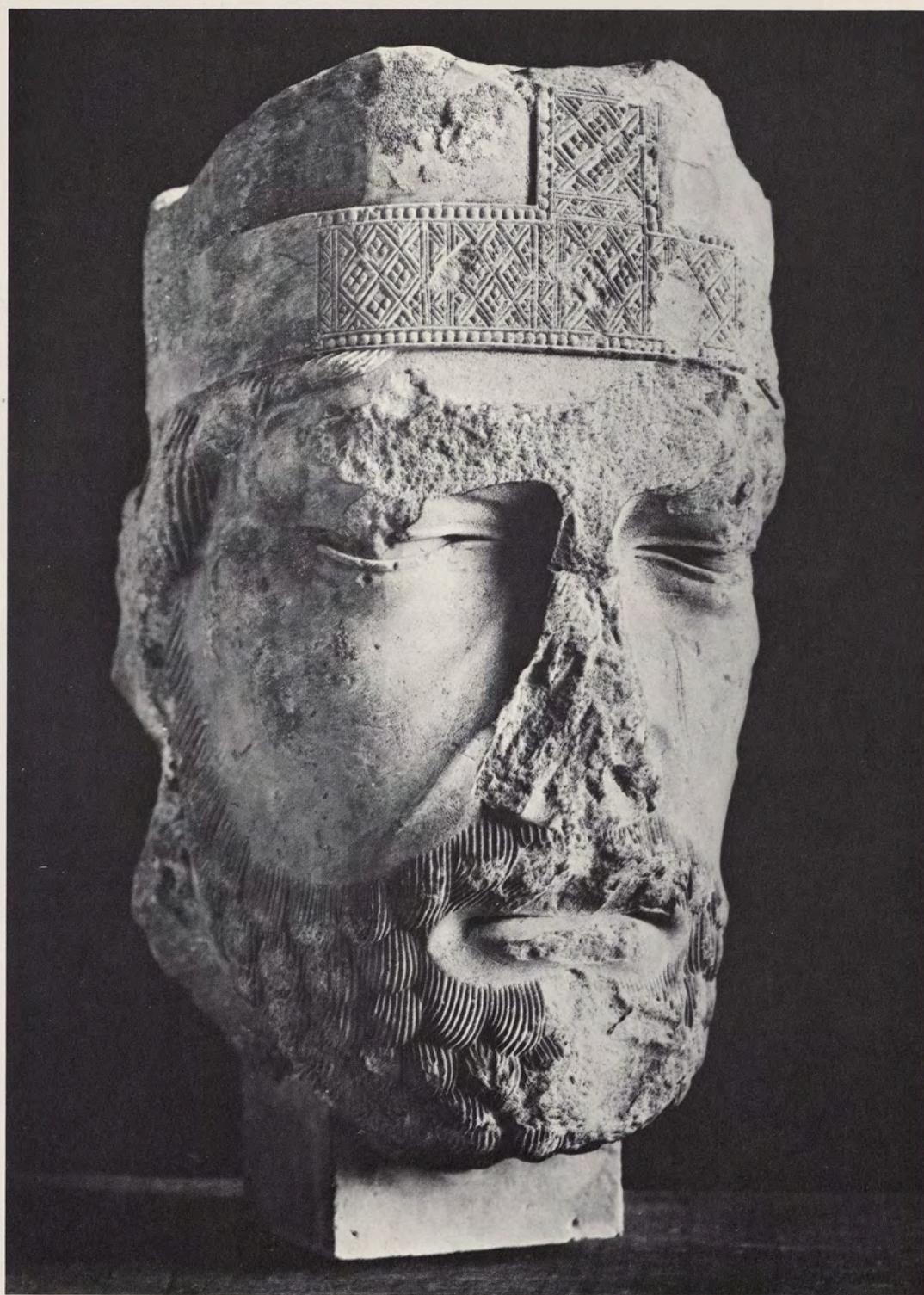
Champagne, Soissons, ca.1225–1230 IV 12 *Head of a Bishop.* Stone, H. 12-5/8, W. 7-7/8 inches. Provenance: Construction yard of the Cathedral of Soissons. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. R. F. 1037.

An expression of peace and absence of all cares pervades this damaged but monumental Head. The eyes with swelling lids are half closed, the cheeks are concave, the once-fleshy lip is firmly closed. The jaw is massive and is covered with small clumps of the beard, each cut with sharp parallel grooves. The miter is decorated with precise, geometrically cut bands.

When this Head appeared in the Cathédrales exhibition of 1962, the cataloguer refined the earlier suggestion of Marcel Aubert that it might have come from one of the statues of the portal of Soissons Cathedral which were destroyed in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. It was further proposed that the Head came from the central portal, which was decorated in the first half of the thirteenth

century. This dating for the Head was made more precise, attributing it to circa 1225–1230, on the basis of comparison of the geometric lace on the miter with a chasuble of Biville (Manche).

Whereas the cutting of the beard is suggestive of the earlier stone Head from Meaux (see cat. no. III–20), the smooth undulating modeling of the flesh areas and the less schematic eyes clearly place it in a subsequent period. The present dating of the Head seems to fit well also in relation to other works considered here. However, the sense of peace and the treatment of the eyes and concave flesh of the face, suggest that this may be a head from a tomb effigy rather than from a portal figure.



The impressive sculptural dignity of this tomb sculpture seems to have inexplicably escaped widespread notice. It is furthermore a form of French Gothic sculpture rarely seen in American collections, and on French soil its type generally has suffered at least as much or more, chiefly as the result of Revolutionary fervor.

This Knight is dressed in a chain mail coat, of which only the collar, sleeves, and lower skirt are visible. The torso is covered by a sleeveless pleated tunic which is caught with a belt buckled at the front a little above the hips. The arms are bent and the missing hands were originally brought together in an attitude of prayer. The right leg is slightly bent; the left is covered by the tunic and a large triangular shield with six birds arranged at the extremities of a decorative strapwork. The head has long undulating locks which fall in ringlets upon a stiff pillow below; the beard indicated by a smooth raised surface over the jaw may have been originally painted. The verisimilitude in the details of hanging or folded heavy chain mail, the natural folds or pleats of stout woolen cloth pressed down against a body beneath, the easy cascade of loose curls on the pillow, and the taut tendons at the neck, all give this work an intimate reality which hardly belies the simple monumentality of the whole, but rather reinforces it. The sculptor must have been an observer of life in all its aspects, and appropriately here he selected those aspects of dignity, repose, and inferred pathos as suitable to the tomb effigy of a young knight.

The late Martin Weinberger identified the birds on the shield as blackbirds whose name in French, *merle*, he thought might allude to le Merlerault (Orne) halfway between Chartres and Caen and also to the name of the knight.¹ Professor Weinberger astutely observed a relationship with the statues on the south façade at Chartres, men-

tioning tentatively two of the most advanced of these, the figures of Saint George and Saint Theodore on the left portal. It is especially instructive to compare the long torso with the pleats of the tunic gathered in by a belt and the heavy chain mail pulled tight over the firm shoulders but flexible at other points and loosely folded over at the collar where the cape has been pulled off the head. Also, the facial features are related, although the tomb effigy seems a little more archaic. The curls at the temples and the configuration of the short beard of Saint Theodore are especially similar to those of the tomb effigy. Professor Weinberger suggests, without enumerating these details, that the sculptor of the tomb figure knew the Chartres sculptures. Certainly this knowledge must have been more than mere passing notice but rather must have been one of a more intimate nature, suggesting that perhaps he might have worked at Chartres and might have been a contributing member of the atelier responsible for Saint Theodore and Saint George.

Willibald Sauerländer has studied several of the *tombeaux chartrains* of the first quarter of the century, works just prior no doubt to the present sculpture.² In the four funerary works at Lèves and the two heads at Sens which Professor Sauerländer illustrates, we may observe several similarities in the treatment of the hair, the delineation around the eyes, and the general proportions and the rendition of drapery where the figures are preserved. This raises the interesting question whether the sculptor of the exhibited tomb figure might be considered a bridge between the sculptors of the *tombeaux chartrains* and the Saint Theodore and Saint George on the south façade at Chartres.

¹ Martin Weinberger, *The George Grey Barnard Collection* (New York, 1941), p. 15, no. 72.

² Willibald Sauerländer, "Tombeaux chartrains du premier quart du XIII^e siècle," *L'information d'histoire de l'art*, ix (March–April 1964), 47–60.



Northern France, ca.1240–1250

IV 14

Leaf from a Missal, for Noyon use. Tempera, burnished gold and ink on vellum, H. 17, W. 10-3/4 inches. Anonymous loan.

Perhaps the most splendid of six preserved leaves from a Missal for Noyon use, this handsome page still reflects the character of the leaves not shown and probably of the Missal as a whole in its once-complete state. Each of the preserved pages is divided into two columns of Gothic script and musical notation punctuated by larger decorations painted with tempera and enriched with burnished gold. These include eight exquisite historiated initials and four initials ornamented with leafy spirals and leaping beasts. The initials with the Resurrection, the figure of Saint Augustine, and the symbolic figures of Ecclesia and Synagogia flanking the Lamb of God have special interest because of their close relationship with the figure style in the pen "sketches" by the architect Villard de Honnecourt in an album-pattern book in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (MS. fr. 19093).

While Villard originated from Honnecourt near Cambrai in the Diocese of Noyon, he became a great traveler who recorded precious impressions of what he saw on his journeys to Saint Quentin, Laon, Reims, Meaux, Chartres, Lausanne, and churches in Hungary. His drawings depict architectural projects, including plans and elevations, as well as sculptures, decorative motifs, and studies of geometric configurations of the human figure used to facilitate rhythmic compositions. He demonstrates in all of these drawings a remarkable facility in the decorative and expressive use of line as well as a keen eye for the essentials of the particular model before him.

The two figures of Ecclesia and Synagogia (blindfolded) on the Missal leaf, representing the New and Old Law, are

especially similar to Villard's draped figures in their fluid linear style, tall proportions, rhythmic stance, and perky treatment of the features. Such details as the bunching of the folds under the belt, the tendency to use hooks or loops in the longer folds, and the loose falling of the folds over the feet also correspond. We can even compare Villard's rendition of Ecclesia with the same figure on the Missal leaf.

Scholars have hesitated attributing the Missal's figural decoration to Villard's own hand, yet have closely related both for their common features. Actually, for the visitor who has traced the consecutive monuments in the exhibition, this style may be seen as a natural continuation of the classicistic style originating in the northeast areas between the Meuse and the Marne by the end of the twelfth century but subsequently widespread as seen in some of the figural decoration on the great cathedrals such as Notre-Dame in Paris (cat. no. IV-1), Chartres, Strasbourg (cat. no. IV-9), Reims, and others. It also extended to the so-called "minor arts" in the Limousin (cat. nos. IV-16, 17). The particular ancestry of the calligraphic and painted style of the Missal leaf leads from the Psalter of Queen Ingeborg and the Sacramentary of Anchim, both dating from just prior to or circa 1200, to the manuscripts of the same decade 1240–1250, such as the Kristina Psalter at Copenhagen and the slightly inferior Missal of Saint Corneille de Compiegne in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (MS. lat. 17318). Villard's album may represent a more mannered and subsequent phase dating a little after that of the Noyon Missal and circa 1250.

mis ad dominum **G**ea
tias agamus domino deo
nistro **D**ignum et ui

sum ei



F.
ER:**O**NNIA.

F.
SEC^UL^AS

F.
EC^UL^OR^{AM}

F.
Dominus nobis

cum. **E**t cum

spiritu tuo. **S**ur-

sum corda. **H**abe

F.
Gloria e. **G**lorie

F.
Cu. **G**: SAVOARE

F.
Dos tibi semper et ubiq;

gratias agere. **D**omine

Northern France,
second quarter 13th century

IV 15 *Enthroned Madonna and Child.* Ivory, H. 14-3/8 inches. Provenance:
Said to come from Abbey of Ourscamp, near Noyon (Oise).
Paris, Musée du Petit-Palais.

Frontal and almost rigid in attitude, this large ivory Madonna and Child recalls in its first impression the wood and metalwork cult images of the twelfth century. Recesses for cabochons on the dado and moldings at the side of the throne also suggest the incrustations of the earlier images. However, closer examination shows that the ivory postdates the twelfth century and that it utilizes the long flutings of thin folds, the loose falling of draperies about the feet, and the elongated proportions seen in many representatives of the classicizing style in France following circa 1200. Indeed we may follow the suggestion of Louis Grodecki¹ that this ivory, along with a few others in the same style, reflects the monumental sculpture of circa 1200–1230. One of the best and also most convenient comparisons may be made with the monumental torsos from the jambs of the Judgment

¹ Louis Grodecki, *Ivoires français* (Paris, 1947), pp. 80–81, pl. XXI.

Portal of Notre-Dame of Paris (see cat. no. IV-1). Like these figures, the ivory gives us a hint of the form beneath the draperies. It also suggests the movement of this form freeing itself from a strictly frontal, architectural encasement. This can be seen in the Christ Child who turns to one side and in the Madonna's staggered feet. A contemporary parallel of this classicistic style may be seen in certain metalwork examples in the Limousin, as in Cleveland's Madonna and Child relief appliquéd (cat. no. IV-17).

The traditional provenance given for the ivory—the Abbey of Ourscamp near Noyon—suggests comparison with the classicistic works of this region in Northern France, such as the figures of Ecclesia and Synagogia on the Noyon Missal leaf (cat. no. IV-14), and similar figures in the album of the architect Villard d'Honnecourt. Especially in the loose, fluid rendition of drapery, a common geographical origin and roughly contemporary date may be proposed.



Limousin, Limoges,
second quarter 13th century

IV 16 *Relief Appliquéd Figure of Saint Paul with Background Plaque.*
Gilt copper, enamel pearls, and champlevé enamel. H. 11-5/8,
W. 5-1/2 inches. Inscriptions: S. PAVLVS [and] SI SECVNDVN CARNEM
VIXERITIS MORIEMINI (Romans 8:13). Paris, Musée du Petit-Palais.

IV 17 *Relief Appliquéd Group of the Enthroned Madonna and Child.* Gilt
copper and enamel pearls. H. 8-1/2, W. 4-1/8 inches. The Cleveland
Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 62.29.

IV 18 *Relief Appliquéd Figure of a Deacon Saint, Transformed into a
Statuette Reliquary.* Gilt copper, champlevé enamel, and enamel
pearls. H. of figure, 13 inches; H. of ensemble, 19-3/4 inches. Provenance:
According to local tradition, probably from the Treasury at the Abbey of
Grandmont (but not in the inventories). Les Billanges (Haute-Vienne), église.

These three relief appliquéd figures of varying dimensions and undoubtedly from different original sources, were probably produced in the same Limoges workshop at about the same time. It is difficult to detect any progressive stylistic or technical development from one to another.

The Saint Paul takes precedence in importance because of its impressive size and monumentality and its vivid sense of form, its eloquent classicistic draperies, and its handsome ennobled head. Furthermore, it retains its original brilliant blue enamel background with foliate rinceaux.

The Enthroned Madonna and Child is less massive and less three-dimensional, apparently because of a restriction in scale of the context in which it was to be used. It has in common with the Saint Paul a similar monumentality, similar classicistic draperies, a related sense of volume, and many corresponding details such as the enamel pearls in the decorative horizontal bands and in the eyes. Also, both reliefs utilize chiseled borders with loops and stippled background. The heads in both cases are three-dimensional and closed at the back.

The third figure, also once an appliquéd relief, is more static due to the requirements of the representation—a stand-

ing Deacon Saint holding a small, rectangular reliquary of the True Cross. This figure wears a dalmatic decorated with engraved crescents set in lozenge spaces. The borders of this garment are set with lapis blue and turquoise pearls of enamel not unlike those of the other two figures. The head of the Deacon is almost identical to that of the Virgin, the original model before casting having undoubtedly been made by the same artist. Both of these heads were burnished and their eyes set with deep blue enamel pearls in a very similar manner. All three appliquéd figures appear to have been produced by the same combination of techniques, including casting, repoussé, direct chasing, burnishing, and chiseling.

There are a number of other works which can be assigned to this same atelier. Some of these come from the same lost ensemble, as in the case of the Saint Paul, where we know of five more apostles or saints now dispersed but probably originally from a large altar frontal. One of these, a figure of Saint Martial, the first bishop of Limoges, is preserved in the Bargello in Florence, and as first noted by Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, it incorporates an engraved crescent motif similar to that of the figure from Billanges. The other figures in this series, all retaining their blue enameled back-



grounds and having the same dimensions, are Saint Matthew (Louvre), Saint Thomas (Petit-Palais), Saint James the Greater (Metropolitan Museum), and Saint Philippe (Leningrad).

There are also works which may be compared to the Cleveland relief. One curious example, formerly in the Spitzer collection, is related in style but not in intended purpose. The lap of the Virgin was extended, providing space for a container with a lid, thus transforming the image into a *Vierge-Custode*, a container for the Eucharist.¹ This style is further diluted in smaller appliquéd figures, as in Berlin² and in the appliqués on a châsse in Baltimore.³

Various datings have been proposed for the appliquéd reliefs in the exhibition. These range from 1189 for the Billanges figure to the third quarter of the thirteenth century for the Saint Paul and the rest of the same series. The problems of dating are naturally related to theories of the original contexts of the respective works. One theory, tenaciously held by several scholars, has been that the series of the Saint Paul belonged to the destroyed altar frontal formerly at the Abbey at Grandmont. Summaries of the relevant discussions and controversies were given by J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, Geneviève F. Souchal, and Mme. Gauthier.⁴ Mlle. Souchal

continues to date the Billanges figure circa 1189, believing it to have belonged to a large châsse once at Grandmont dedicated to Saint Etienne de Muret. The exhibited figure has often been called Saint Etienne de Muret without proof. It could just as easily be Saint Martial of Limoges. Mlle. Souchal prefers to date the series of Saint Paul circa 1220–1230. Mme. Gauthier's most recent opinion relates all three exhibited works to the same workshop; she dates the Billanges figure in the second decade of the thirteenth century and assigns the Saint Paul to be circa 1225–1235.

One point is especially clear: the figures with classicistic draperies reflect similar sculptures on a monumental scale. The draperies of the apostles and saints recall the torsos of the Judgment Portal at Notre-Dame in Paris. The Cleveland Enthroned Madonna and Child suggests not only the small relief of Clementia on the right jamb of this portal but in addition the sculptures of the Coronation of the Virgin in the central tympanum of the north façade at Chartres. It also is similar to a depiction in stained glass of a crowned martyr-saint from Soissons Cathedral, datable circa 1220 and now in Berlin.⁵ The debt to such northern artists as Nicholas of Verdun may not necessarily have been a direct one because of the inroads this style had already made in the Ile-de-France in the sculptural decoration of cathedral portals and in stained glass.

¹ Léon Palustre, "L'orfèvrerie religieuse," *La collection Spitzer* (Paris, 1890), I, 116, no. 57; Ernest Rupin, *L'oeuvre de Limoges* (Paris, 1890), pp. 217–219.

² E. F. Bange, *Die Bildwerke des deutschen Museums*, vol. II: *Die Bildwerke in Bronze, Staatliches Museum zu Berlin* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1923), p. 14.

³ Walters Art Gallery, no. 44.4.

⁴ J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Les crosses limousins du XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1941), pp. 149–158; Geneviève Souchal, "Les émaux de Grandmont au XII^e siècle," *Bulletin monumental*, cxxi (April–June 1963), 126 ff.; Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, "Emaillerie

champlevé méridionale; Maîtres et ateliers, note sur les méthodes de recherche," *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, xcI (1964), 68–69; Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, "Innovations du premier art gothique dans l'œuvre de Limoges," *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes*, v, *Sciences religieuses*, lxxiii (1964–1965).

⁵ Louis Grodecki, "De 1200 à 1260," *Le vitrail français* (Paris, 1958), p. 123, fig. 92.



Mid-13th century

IV 19 *Front of a Corporal Case or an Antependium Fragment with the Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints and Kneeling Bishop(?)*.
Embroidery on red satin, H. 8-7/8, W. 8-7/8 inches. Lyon (Rhône),
Treasury of the Cathedral.

Arthur Martin suggested in 1856 that the prelate depicted in this rare embroidery might have had the name of Peter, since he is shown kneeling beside Saint Peter, who presents him in effect to the Virgin in Majesty. Martin also thought that the crowned female saint might be identified as Saint Pulchérie because of the attributes of the globe and the ornament with embroidered crosses in imitation of antique *trabea*. The image of the Madonna and Child, frontal and monumental, recalls Byzantine works such as the Stroganoff ivory of the eleventh century in the Cleveland Museum. On the other hand it can also be related to Cleveland's Limoges appliquéd relief of the same subject because of the similar proportions, pose, and iconography (see cat. no. IV-17).

The Lyon embroidery may have been used as part of a larger embroidered antependium or may have once formed the frontal panel of a corporal-case used by the priest during the consecration of the Mass.



Limoges,
second quarter 13th century

IV 20 *Crosier with Saint Michael.* Gilt copper and champlevé enamel,
H. 12-7/16 inches. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of
Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ford II, 59.297.

The sign of the office of a bishop or abbot is his crosier, a long staff with a voluted curve at the head. Nearly two hundred Limoges enameled crosiers of the thirteenth century are preserved; many other examples of later date exist in ivory; a few exist in crystal (see cat. nos. v-17, 4). Certain single works stand out for their great quality and their fine state of preservation. The Limoges Crosier from Detroit is one of these. Despite the criticism that has occasionally stigmatized even so handsome a product of what was a large-scale production, we may still admire these crosiers for their elegant silhouettes and their pleasing colors, as in the brilliant blue and turquoise enamel studs in the present example, and the bright reflecting surfaces of burnished copper gilt. Certain examples, the Detroit Crosier included, are remarkable for the precision of casting and engraving. Contrasting textures often result, as evident in the figure of Saint Michael, the adjacent dragon head, the entwined beasts on the knob below, and the three reptiles on the lower stem. The colorful excellence of this Crosier was sufficient to have attracted the attention of Eugène Delacroix, who made a drawing of it in the mid-nineteenth century, a fact first noticed by J. J. Marquet de Vasselot.

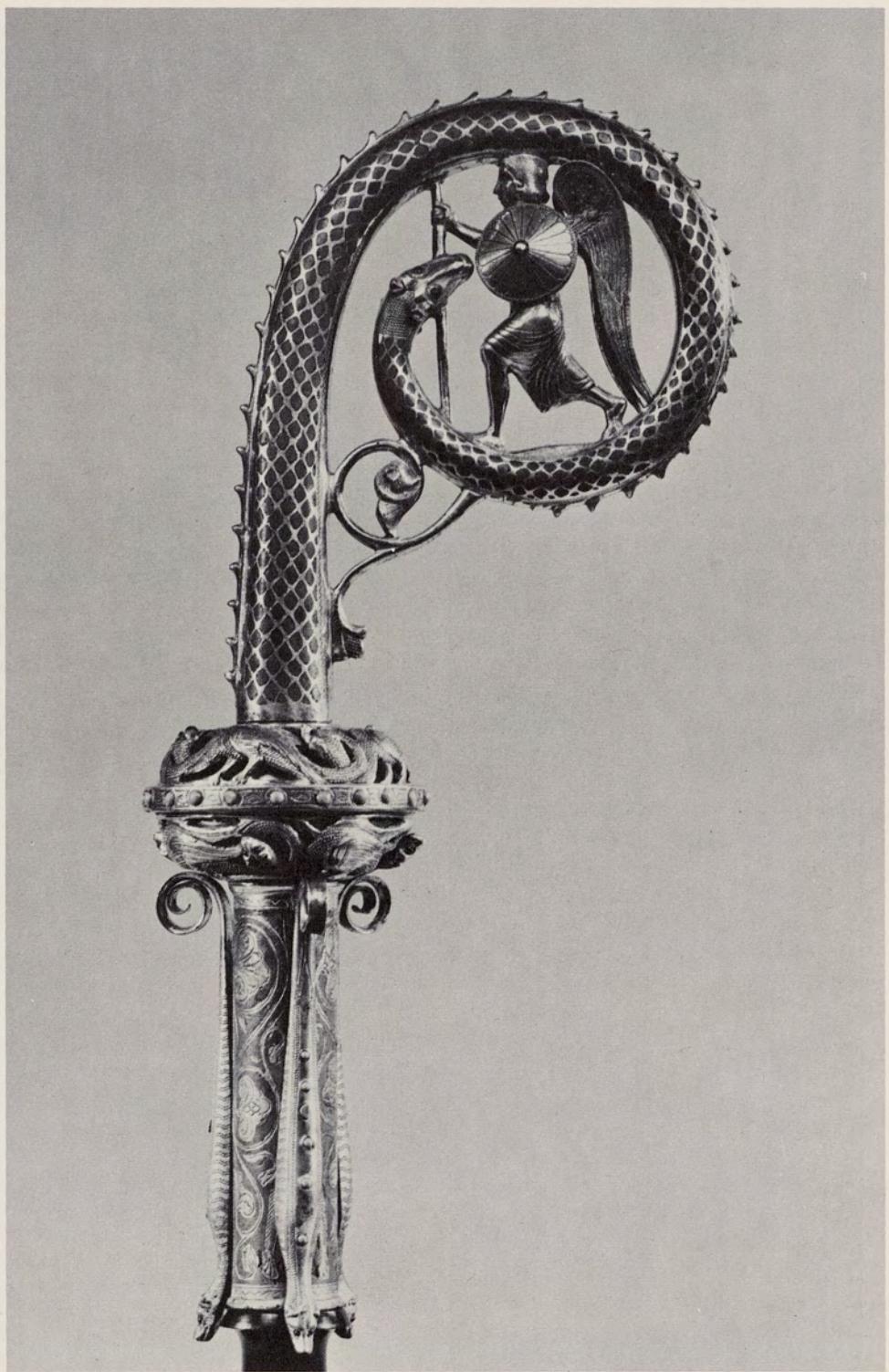
This same author assembled a great deal of information on the corpus of Limoges crosiers. He divided them into two groups—those with great stylized flowers and those with human figures and/or animals. The latter group is the larger one. The crook in the second group, as in the Detroit example, often takes on the body of a reptile-like monster. Marquet de Vasselot suggested that the representatives of the first group began to be made a little earlier (circa 1200–1225/33) than those of the second, although there probably was some overlapping. One of the problems of dating these works is the lack of securely dated pieces. However, a *terminus ante quem* does exist for nearly a dozen crosiers which have been removed from tombs of bishops whose date of burial is certain. Unfortunately such information is not provided in the case of the Detroit Crosier. According to Marquet de Vasselot, the earliest ascertained dates for crosiers in the second group

occur with an example from the tomb of Guillaume de Boesses, a Bishop at Orléans from 1238 until his death in 1258, and another example from the tomb of Michel de Villoiseau, Bishop of Angers from 1240 to 1261.¹ The first of these two crosiers contains a figure of an enthroned Madonna and Child in a style derived and reduced from that of the larger reliefs with classicistic draperies which have been dated in the second quarter of the thirteenth century (cat. nos. IV-16, 17). Unfortunately, the drapery style and the treatment of the head of the Detroit Saint Michael are not related even though the techniques are similar. Saint Michael's drapery folds, the decoration of his wings, and the delineation of his hair are all rendered by an irregular engraved line. The draperies in particular are not treated three-dimensionally but only in terms of this use of line, which by its raggedness catches the light in an irregular, coloristic manner. The eyes of the Saint as well as those of the beasts, like so many Limoges works, are inlaid with dark enamel pearls. A search for a similar combination of features in other Limoges enamels may eventually make it possible to date the Detroit Crosier more precisely than the second quarter of the thirteenth century.²

In any case, the champlevé enamel crosiers were only in demand during the century of the greatest popularity of Limoges enamels in general, beginning in the last third of the twelfth century. The larger number of crosiers probably date from the first half of the thirteenth century. Certainly their production ceased entirely by the early fourteenth century when they were replaced by examples in other materials. It has not yet been possible to discern clearly defined workshops responsible for this large production.

¹ J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Les crosses limousines du XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1941), no. 36 (pl. IX) and no. 52.

² Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, in an unpublished statement dated July 1, 1966, has suggested dating the Detroit Crosier in the second or third decade of the thirteenth century.



The exact provenance of this window is not known. It was found with a group of stained-glass elements at a Parisian antiquarian's shop around 1905. Sold to an American collector, the present window returned to France as an anonymous gift transmitted through the United States Embassy in 1954.

Each of the five scenes of the Passion are set within vertical ovals which would be pointed except that they are intercepted by lozenges. The entire series is framed by a decorative border which makes a play on this scheme. The scenes progress from the bottom to the top, beginning with the Betrayal of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, reproduced here in color. Above this may be seen the Flagellation, Christ Carrying the Cross, the Descent from the Cross, and the Entombment. It may be of interest to compare several of the scenes with the Limoges reliefs of the same subjects and very similar compositions, once part of a series for an altar frontal (see cat. nos. IV-6, 7, 8). The scene of the Crucifixion is missing from the glass sequence as in the metalwork series, and presumably it too is lost.

According to the suggestion of the cataloguer of the Cathédrales exhibition, the shape of the historiated compartments and the style of the figures indicate a date in the neighborhood of the middle of the thirteenth century, perhaps as early as 1245. Furthermore, we are told that certain influences from the Parisian ateliers at Sainte-Chapelle are felt in the head of the Christ as it appears in both the Descent and the

Entombment. However, the color range is very different from the Paris work; there seem to be more nuances through shading in the loaned example.

Fragments probably from the same series of stained-glass panels or closely related ones have found their way to America; one portion is in the Walters Art Gallery. At the Cathedral of Sens, analogies of style have been observed in certain windows created after 1230, as in those panels illustrating the Life of the Virgin, the Passion, and the Life of Saint Stephen. Also to be considered are three windows in the central chapel off the ambulatory with scenes of the stories of Saint John the Evangelist, Saint "Savinien," and Saint Paul. These related works were rearranged and completed in the nineteenth century. The original parts have been dated circa 1240-1245. The attribution of the window in the exhibition to Sens Cathedral is only plausible but not proven in the light of these comparisons.

In any case, the present window is to be valued for the extent of its preserved portions and the visual feast of colors presented. The complexity of the figural compositions, the overlappings of figures, the suggestion of movement and variegated gesture all express a picturesque charm and distinctive vivacity which only glass can convey. Yet many of these features are used to different ends in contemporary manuscript illustrations as well as in the earlier metalwork reliefs of Limoges previously cited.



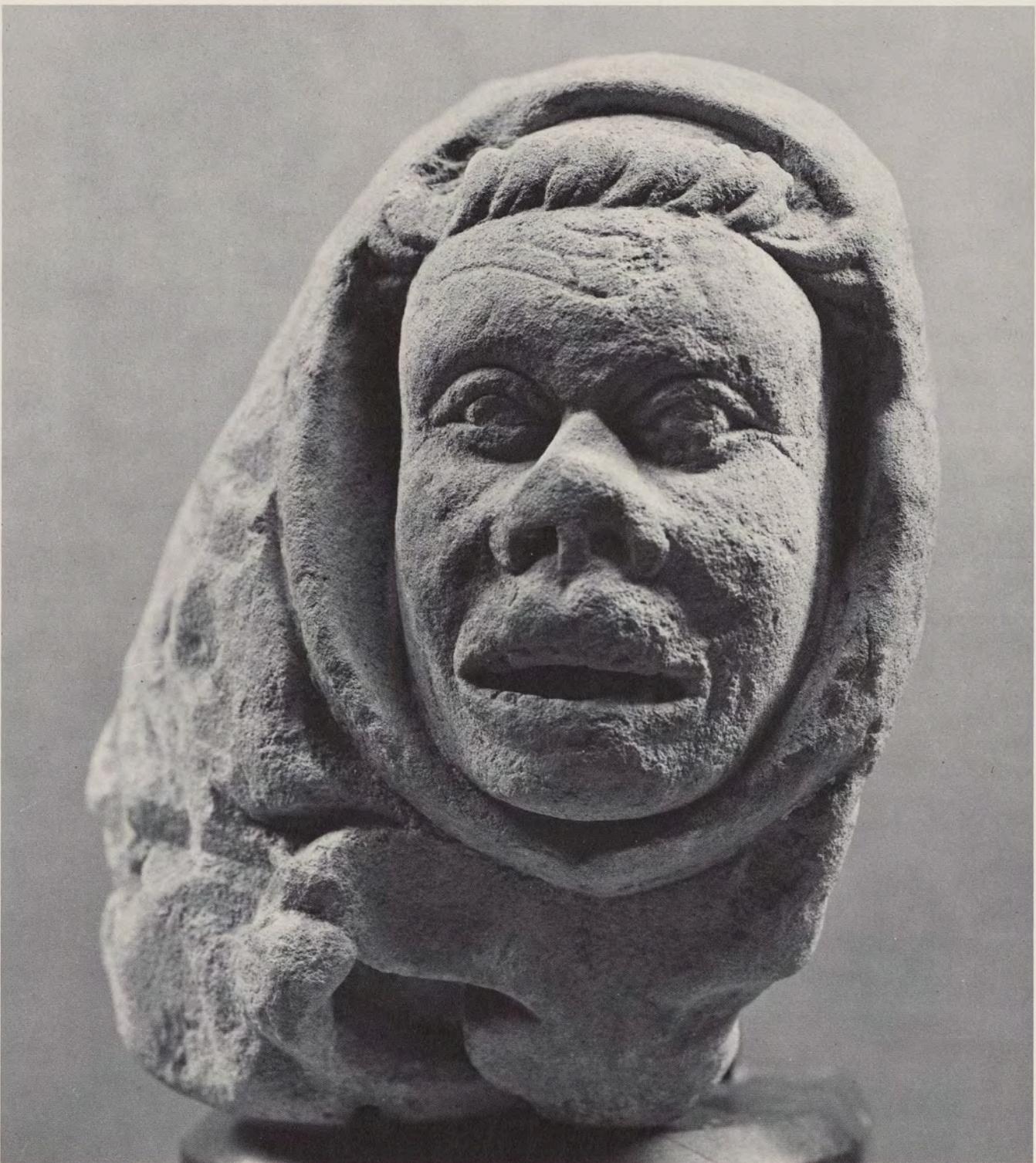
Lorraine, Metz (?), ca.1240

IV 22 *Corbel with a Cowled Head.* Reddish limestone, H. 9, W. 6,
D. 6-1/2 inches. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Charles Amos
Cummings Bequest Fund, 61.164.

A strangely expressive visage appears beneath a monk's cowl in this stone fragment. The brow is wrinkled, the wide nose flattened, the thick edges of the mouth are sufficiently drawn to show rows of small non-human teeth, and the eyes are penetrating in their gaze. Is this Head that of a monk or an ape in a monk's habit? Fragments of foliage below suggest that the sculpture may have served as a corbel, as observed in 1961 by Hanns Swarzenski, who has in addition pointed out that the expressive realism of the Head itself and its psychological observation may be seen also "at the Strasbourg Minister among the dismantled choir screen (before 1252), the gargoyles of about 1275, the console figures near the great rose window, and the statues in the arcades of the tower of Erwin von Steinbach."¹ Dr. Swarzenski then observed a kin-

ship also with the continuation of this tradition in "the exquisite but little-known corbels of Saint-Pierre-le-Jeune, Strasbourg, done about 1275." More recently Dr. Swarzenski has localized the Head in Metz and has assigned it tentatively to the Naumberg Master before he went to Naumberg or before circa 1239. The expressive naturalism of this master is a parallel to that developed at Strasbourg. Other examples of notable eloquence carved by the Naumberg Master before his eastward trip may be seen in a head at Mainz from the eastern rood screen of the cathedral. In any case, the Cowled Head, probably of a grimacing pseudo-ape, is a rare and treasured document in stone of the drollery spirit which was not all fun, as we might first suppose, but which had a cutting edge like a razor, not always immediately felt or understood. The sharpness of this grotesque image and its pathological fervor grows with contemplation. Its enormity within a medieval vision is not to be dismissed.

¹ Hanns Swarzenski, "Some Recent Accessions," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, LIX (1961), 118.



Languedoc, mid-13th century

IV 23 *Châsse, called Châsse du Christ Legislateur.* Silver, silver-gilt and copper-gilt, cabochons, over walnut wood core, H. 17, W. 13-3/8, D. 5-1/2 inches. Provenance: Treasury of the Abbey of Grandselve until 1791. Bouillac (Tarn-et-Garonne), église.

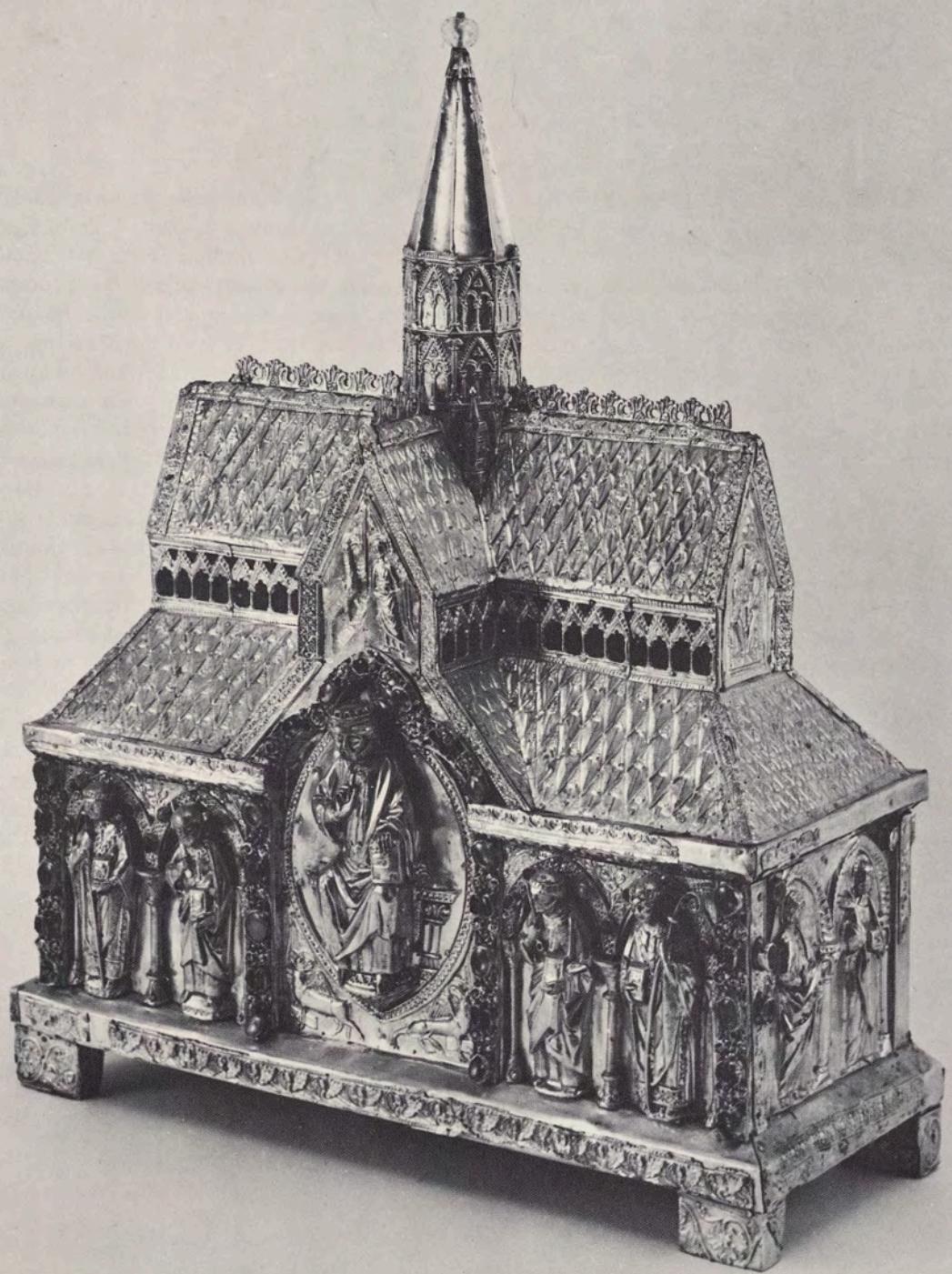
The Châsse du Christ Legislateur is one of two smaller châsses of four formerly in the Treasury of the Abbey of Grandselve. The architectural features exemplified in the present work are typical of the group. The form is one of a single-storied church whose arcaded clerestory and imbricated roofing follow the nave and transepts and are cruciform in plan. At the crossing is a two-storied octagonal tower with fenestration rendered in relief on each level. The principal face shows an enthroned Christ, his right hand held in blessing, surrounded by a mandorla. The Apocalyptic symbols of Saint Luke and Saint Mark appear immediately below. In the gable above the trilobed enframing border of filigree and cabochons may be seen the symbols of Saint John and Saint Matthew. The arcades at the left and right are filled with apostles or abbot-saints. On Christ's immediate right is Saint Paul; on his left is Saint Peter. Next to them stand the abbots with their crosiers and books in hand, and the filigree and cabochon borders repeat on the corner pilasters. The ends of the châsse are enhanced with the figures of additional saints in low relief and framed by arches. The gables at the ends of the nave clerestory are each decorated with an enthroned Madonna and Child, also rendered in low relief. All of the figural elements are repoussé work. The back of the châsse, where there is an opening for the relic, is decorated with a geometric pattern with lozenges. No marks have been discerned.

The Abbey of Grandselve, in the diocese of Toulouse, was the most important foundation of Cîteaux in the Midi. It was under the protection of the Counts of Toulouse which continued into the thirteenth century. With the relaxation of the austerity of the Cistercian rule in the thirteenth century, Grandselve experienced a remarkable materialistic splendor, both in landed property and in a reconstructed and enlarged church, dedicated by the Bishop of Toulouse in 1253. The

community was dissolved in 1793 and the monastery and the church was entirely lost in the ruthless demolition of 1803. This is especially tragic, as the church must have been an important example of Gothic architecture in the Midi. The only remnants of this lost splendor are the châsses and three smaller reliquaries saved from destruction following the Terror, having been moved mostly to Bouillac.

On first glance the four châsses would appear to date in the twelfth century because they reflect the architectural form of Romanesque churches of Toulouse, especially in their clerestories, transepts, and octagonal crossing towers. Raymond Rey, in making this suggestion, had in mind Saint Sernin and La Daurade in Toulouse. However clear this reference is, we must note at least one of several of the Romanesque details which are missing on the châsse: the radiating apsidal chapels. Other details, such as the trilobed arches and cusped gables, are clearly representative of the inroads of northern Gothic architectural style. Since they were constructed to enshrine the various relics brought back by the Crusaders and by pilgrims, the châsse may have been especially susceptible to architectural ornament and form from outside the diocese. As a group, the four châsses may be dated very generally in the mid-thirteenth century.

Those with an archeological talent may wish to ponder the curious crowding of the figure of Christ within his mandorla and of the figures of the apostles and abbot-saints who burst out of their arcades. Also, two of the Evangelist symbols are peculiarly expelled to the gable above Christ. Perhaps these strange features hint at some completely lost or altered larger setting. Yet in its present form, the Châsse du Christ Legislateur, is notably successful in providing a rich, solid, and ordered architectural setting whose *raison d'être* derived from some now-dimmed but once-popular relic cult.



Limousin or Spain (?),
mid-13th century

IV 24 *Enthroned Madonna and Child.* Copper gilt, enamel and cabochons over wood core, H. 18-1/2 inches. Breuilaufa (Haute-Vienne), église.

Like the ivory Madonna and Child from Ourscamp (cat. no. IV-15) and the Châsse from Grandselve (cat. no. IV-23), the Enthroned Madonna and Child from Breuilaufa might be dated at first appearance in the Romanesque period. It has much of the hieratic frontality of the cult figures of the twelfth century. The Madonna and Child stare with a wide-eyed visionary intensity; their limbs and general pose have a certain primitive stiffness. The cabochons and enamel pearls in the crowns and collar also suggest the earlier and generally larger cult figures, the most famous being that of Saint Foy at Conques.

Nevertheless, the soft, fleshy, and rounded faces, the easy, flowing curved planes of the torsos and limbs, the natural hanging drapery between the knees, and the gentle folds about the feet all betray a later period and suggest a date about the middle of the thirteenth century.

It has long been assumed that this image, described as having been made by the repoussé technique and with much of its original core,¹ was the product of a Limousin workshop, possibly at Limoges. W. L. Hildburgh questioned this assumption and has suggested either a localization in Spain or a dependence on Spain in relation to three stylistically similar examples of the same subject, all of the "copper-sheathed"

type.² These are preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, in the convent of Santa Clara at Huesca in Spain, and in the Morgan collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Dr. Hildburgh cited each of these comparative works as Spanish. The technique and treatment of the draperies falling from the knees of both the Madonna and the Christ Child in all of these examples are similar. However, the treatment of the faces and especially the enameled eyes in the Breuilaufa group is quite different and is more comparable to another work, *La Virgen de la Vega* at Salamanca.

On the other hand, Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier has compared the Breuilaufa group with the series of relief figures associated with the altar frontal at Grandmont (see cat. no. IV-16), even though there is no trace of the classicistic draperies in the present work. Mme. Gauthier also finds a close parallel in relation to the enameled eyes of the *gisants* of Blanche and Jean de France, circa 1250, from Royaumont and today in the ambulatory of Saint-Denis.

The Breuilaufa Madonna and Child is worthy of study not only for its sculptural excellence and its fine metalwork technique but also because it may encourage a fresh consideration of the complex problems of localization reflected in the discussions of Dr. Hildburgh and the responses which his theories have evoked.

¹ The back and sides of the throne are modern.

² W. L. Hildburgh, "Medieval Copper Champlevé Enamelled Images of the Virgin and Child," *Archæologia*, xcvi (1955), 152-153, pl. XLVII.



Languedoc (?), dated 1273

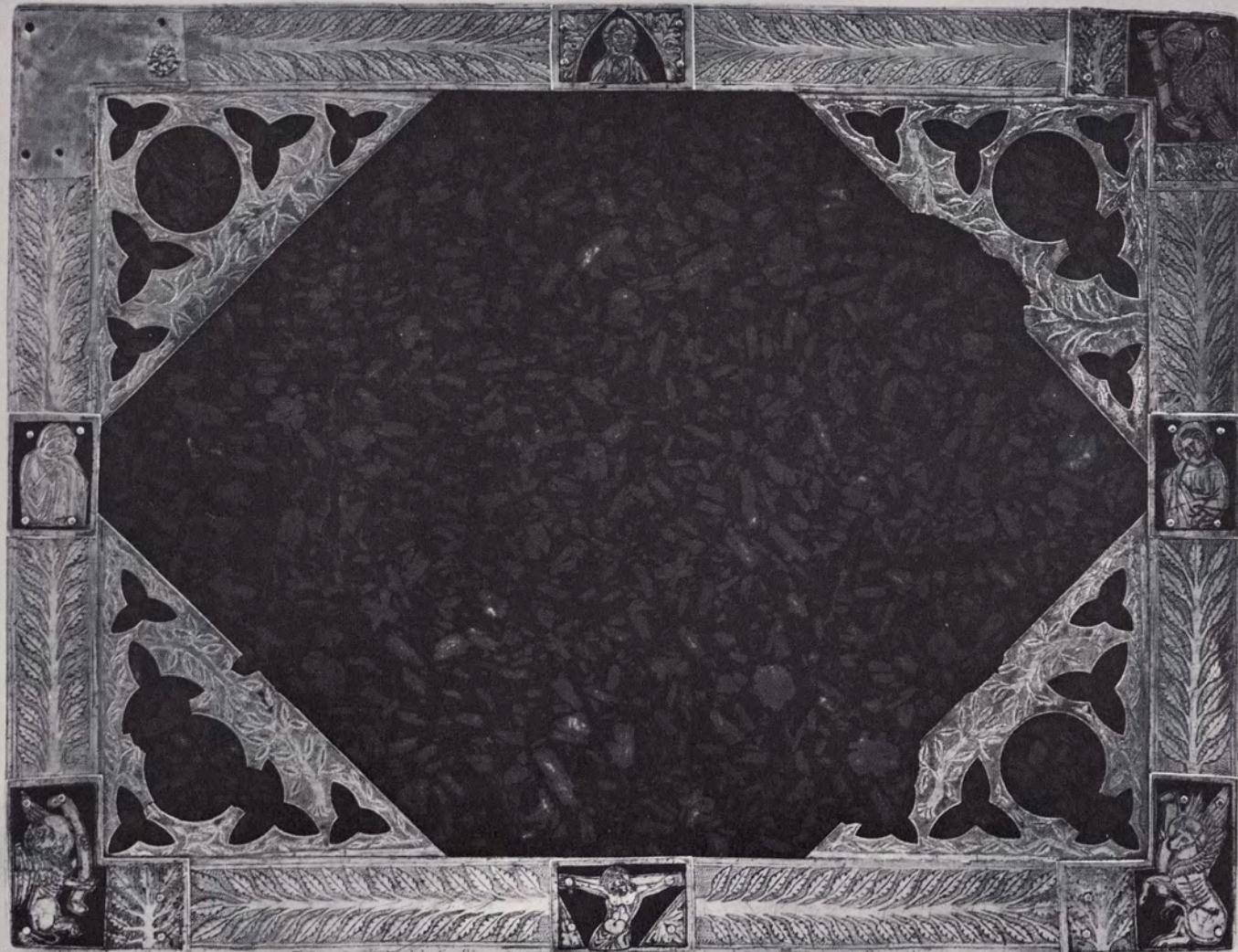
IV 25 *Portable Altar.* Silver gilt and green porphyry or serpentine. L. 15-3/8,
W. 11-5/8 inches. Inscription: HIC : SUNT : RELIQUIE : SCE : CRUCIS :
ET SCI : ANDREE : ET : SCI : BARTHOLOMEI : ET : SCI MATHEI : APLOR : ET :
SCI : BASILII : ET : SCI : BLASII : ET : SCOR : IOHIS : ET PAULI : ET : SCI :
NICHOLAI : ET : SCAR : VIRGIMU : AGNETIS : MARGARETE : ET : BARBARE :
HOC : ALTARE : COSECATU : E ANNO : CRE : M : CC : LXXIII : NONAS : FEBR :
COSTRUCTU : P : GUIDONE : D : PILEO : P : CUJ : AIA : CEBRATE : ORETIS.
Narbonne (Aude), Treasury of the Cathedral of Saint-Just.

Sumptuous materials, exquisite engraved leafwork, vivid linear imagery, and a timeless iconography are united in an ensemble which is disarmingly simple yet whose usage lay at the foundation of Christian belief. The dark green flecked stone slab is set in a silver-gilt frame, the edge of which gives the inscription in thirteenth-century letters quoted above. A continuous foliated stem on the upper border is perhaps a veiled reference to the Tree of Life or *lignum vitae*. This border was once set with four corners presenting the four Evangelist symbols; now the Matthew symbol is missing. The middle of each side is punctuated by four extraordinarily expressive depictions of the bust of Christ blessing at the top, a half-length crucified Christ below, and at the sides, busts of the mourning Virgin and Saint John. The iconography is, as a result, twofold: a pathetic Crucifixion scene with the Virgin and Saint John and a triumphant apocalyptic vision of Christ in Majesty with the Evangelist symbols. The four inner corners of the frame are filled with openwork brackets with circular and trifoliate cutouts. Small trees and miscel-

laneous leaves are engraved against a crosshatched background in the remaining metal areas.

The inscription tells us that the Portable Altar was "constructed" by Gui de Pileo and that it was consecrated in February of 1273. This fact qualifies the legend that the Altar was offered to the cathedral by Pope Clement IV, who died in 1268 and who was formerly Archbishop of Narbonne under the name of Gui Foulques. Clement's role in this, if any, may have been that of supplier of the stone possibly sent from Rome before his death. The date provides a *terminus ante quem* for the metalwork and the finished product as we see it in its nearly complete state today.

Presumably the silver-gilt frame is a rare if not uniquely early example of Languedoc metalwork. It may have been made even in Narbonne, although no recorded marks offer any clues. The figure style provides little clear evidence in the search for a precise localization, although the figure of Christ on the cross is drawn in a manner comparable to Villard de Honnecourt's rendition of the same subject in his album-pattern book now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.



CHAPTER FIVE

Beginnings of Courtly Art

Northeast France, Amiens(?),
fourth quarter 13th century with
additions of late 14th century

V 1 *Psalter and Hours of Yolande, Vicomtesse of Soissons*, in Latin and French. Vellum, 434 leaves, H. 7-1/8, W. 5-1/8 inches. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 729.

Executed for Yolande, Vicomtesse of Soissons, wife of Bernard v, lord of Moreuil, this profusely decorated and deluxe manuscript contains her arms in the borders throughout as well as two portraits of her, the one reproduced opposite (folio 232 verso) and another showing also her husband and two sons, Bernard vi, the future Marshal of France, and Jean de Moreuil, the eldest (folio 1 verso). Judging by the combined evidence of the relative ages of Yolande and her family in this second miniature together with the style of the miniatures, the greater part of the manuscript may be tentatively dated circa 1290.

The list of contents¹ is indeed a rich one. Included are: six frontispiece miniatures, Amiens calendar, *Memoria* of the Holy Face, Gallican Psalter, Canticles, Athanasian Creed (*Quicumque uult*), Cologne Litany(?) Collects, Prayer of St. Augustine (*Chi comenche lenquisitions saint augustin*), other prayers in Latin and French, Gospel lessons from Saint John's Gospel, Latin Prayers, Fifteen Joys of the Virgin in French, Prayer to the Virgin in French (folio 220, *Dame resplendisans roine glorieuse*), Hours of the Holy Ghost (beginning imperfectly) and alternating with Hours of the Virgin (use approaching that of Amiens), Hours of the Passion, the Seven Penitential Psalms, Office of the Dead, Commendation of Souls, Psalter of Saint Jerome, and the Prayers of All Angels (added in the late fourteenth century). Falling within the *Psautier-Livre d'Heures* classification of Abbé Leroquais, the text was compiled for a woman communicant at Amiens, as indicated by the calendar, and parts of the Hours of the Virgin. The latter is actually a mixture of Amiens, Reims, and Paris forms, and the Usage for the Office of the Dead is that of Tournai. The French prayers are in a Picard dialect. It is thought that the scriptorium was in the Province of Reims (which included Amiens and Tournai).

¹ See for more complete descriptions: *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1908), no. 139, and unpublished notes at the Pierpont Morgan Library, dated 1950, upon which the present discussion is based.

Apparently a complete Amiens model was not available from which to copy the correct forms.

The dark Gothic script of the major part of the manuscript is especially handsome in its neat and compact character. A corrector wrote in a heavier, less even fashion (folio 139 verso, line 14; folios 143 verso ff., and 182 ff.). A third scribe, slightly different from the first two, may be observed also; his work is distinguished by the stroked i's (beginning folio 201). The late fourteenth-century additions at the end of the manuscript are written in a light brown ink and a manner consistent with other manuscripts of the later period, (folio 405 ff., compare with script of the Gotha Missal, cat. no. VI-3).

The decoration of the manuscript is in keeping with the fullness of its textual content and its aristocratic destination. This decoration is opulent and there are thirty-nine full-page miniatures in the original part of the book and one in the late fourteenth-century portion. Each of the twelve calendar pages has a full border including the coats of arms and the occupation of the month. The sign of the Zodiac is given in a rectangular panel within this frame. There are fifty-six full borders in the original portion of the manuscript, each containing one or two historiated initials. Many of the full-page miniatures were removed prior to 1830. After their separate appearance in the Ottley sale of 1838, these alienated miniatures were reinserted in the original volume, some in incorrect positions.

The lavish decoration, especially as seen in the larger miniatures, has a strength of color and line which is characteristic of the best of the manuscripts produced in the northeast French areas, especially that of Artois and Ponthieu. The color ensemble stresses the deep blues, brilliant oranges, white, several browns, and grays. The figures, in their features, hair, and draperies, depend for strength and elegance upon the expressive and facile use of a black line sometimes heightened in contrast to the added whites of adjacent areas. Modeling with light washes and touches of white is used sparingly. The background areas are either heavy burnished



gold or delicately colored geometric patterns. All of the full-page miniatures have elaborate architectural canopies or arcades in the Gothic style, also typical of a number of manuscripts from northeast France. Such architectural devices are similar in their compositional role to their ancestors previously observed in the earlier Romanesque manuscripts (see cat. nos. II-10 and III-3). The vocabulary has changed and now we see cusped and pointed arches, crocketed gables, quadrilobed rose windows, buttresses (even flying buttresses on folio 246 verso), and many other features of the later architectural style contemporary to that of the manuscript. This architectural style can be seen in the present exhibition in the Châsse of Saint-Romain from Rouen (cat. no. V-5).

Two distinct hands have been observed in these miniatures, although both are careful to work within a common format and system of decoration. Both were undoubtedly members of the same shop which oversaw the production of the entire original manuscript. The chief difference between them is that one shows a greater interest in light and dark modeling in the faces, hands, and robes. He gives greater diversity of expression to the physiognomies as well. In his miniature of Christ in Majesty on folio 5 he achieves a rare three-dimensionality and monumentality. This particular miniature also may be compared with Romanesque examples of the same subject and similar format, as in the Sacramentary of Limoges (cat. no. III-3). Both miniatures are preoccupied with the theme of an all-powerful Christ seated in glory with the apocalyptic symbols on all sides. But how different are the pictorial means! The power of the earlier work depends on such abstract features as its firm line, hot color, and variegated patterns. The Gothic miniature creates a sense of power in terms of fluid line combined with three-dimensional modeling expressing the natural fall of heavy draperies, and a brilliant contrast of texture, color, and burnished gold in the background. The mandorla of the earlier manuscript is characteristically abandoned in favor of a quadrilobed one, subdivided into three cusps in each lobe. This latter format is utilized again and again in subsequent Majesty pages. It can be seen in a more elaborate form in the Gotha Missal (cat. no. VI-3).

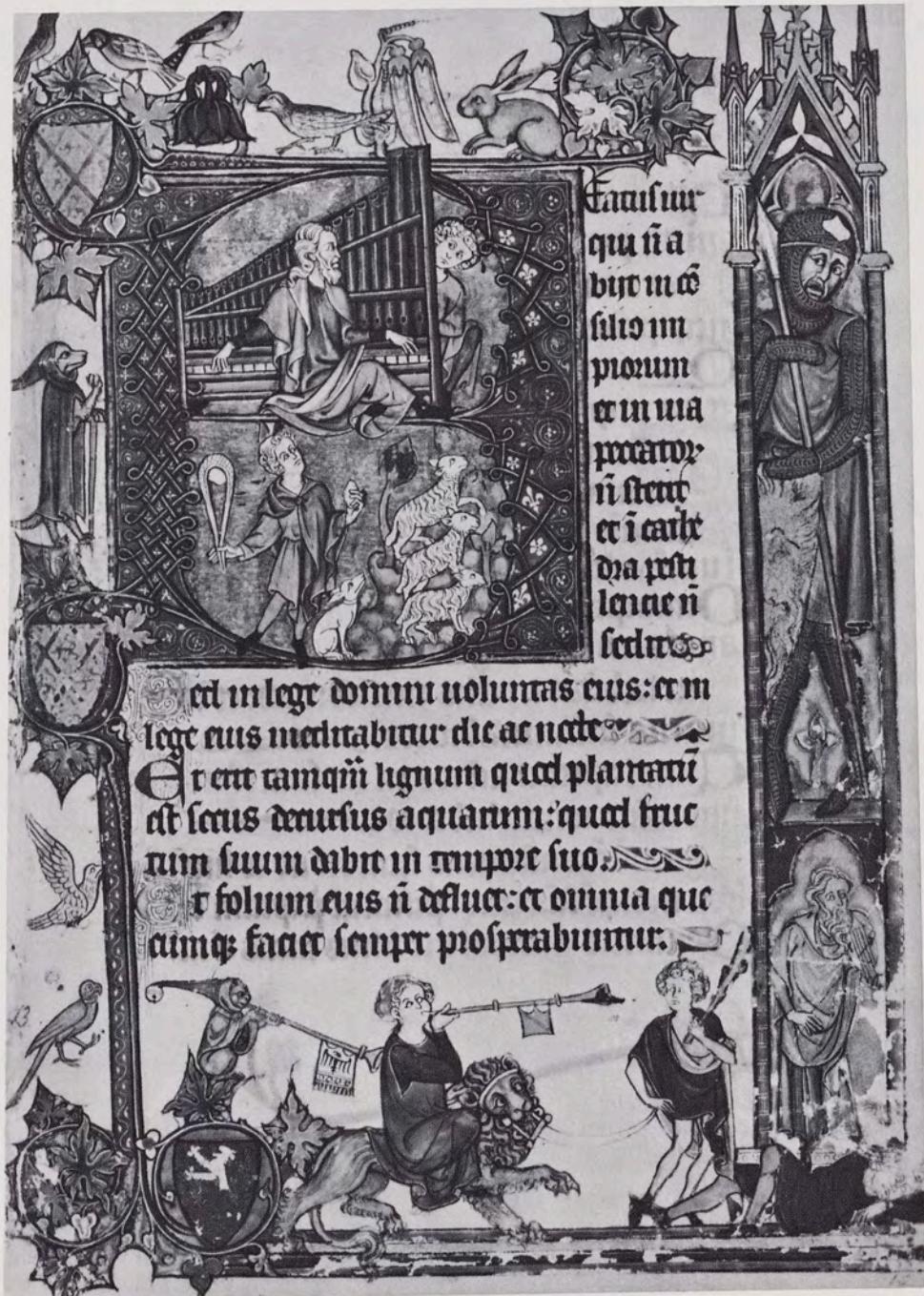
The decoration of the present manuscript, clearly in the northeast French tradition, shows much in common with, and perhaps some derivation from, English miniature painting in the proportions of the figures, facial types, deep-set eyes, facile linearism, elaborate frames, heraldic ornament and marginal imagery. In the boldness of these details, Yolande's

Psalter and Hours may be compared with roughly contemporary English works, as for example the Peterborough Psalter in the Royal Library at Brussels (MS. 9961-2).

The marginalia are of special interest and delight. This subject has been treated as a whole in the recent and useful book by Lilian M. C. Randall. The principal subjects in the larger body of manuscript examples of marginal illustrations seem to derive "from four major iconographic categories: religious sources, secular literature, daily life, and parody."² While many marginal creatures in Yolande's Psalter and Hours are purely decorative and suggest no particular action or symbolism, at least sixteen folios do illustrate the larger context discussed and indexed by Dr. Randall, as in the Man and Serpent (*Laocoon?*) of folio 273 which she illustrates. However, two examples not yet located in Mrs. Randall's index are worthy of notice too. The page with the beginning text for the Gallican Psalter (folio 16) has a large historiated initial B with David shown both playing an organ and about to slay Goliath who stands squeezed into a Gothic tower raised in the right margin. At the left of the initial on the inner margin is a fox in a cowled cape and a pilgrim's staff. In the *bas-de-page*, a courtier blowing a trumpet rides a lion, mimicked by a monkey with a fool's cap. The lion is drawn forward by reins held by Cain, who has just slain Abel, at the extreme right. In the base niche of the tower stands a bearded figure playing a vielle. Thus marginalia and historiated initial are intricately interwoven in presenting first the parallel and contrast of the slaying of Goliath and that of Abel, and second a parody on David the musician. In the page in Jerome's Psalter where Jerome is seated at his desk writing within an historiated initial, the marginal scene below, also apparently not indexed by Mrs. Randall, shows a woman dancing and a man playing a vielle (folio 389). Two examples of the nude, which are indexed by Mrs. Randall, illustrate the amusing scene of a nude man pursuing a butterfly with his cloak and another episode of two wrestling men clad only in drawers (folio 338 and 259 verso).

Yolande's Psalter and Hours is indeed as inexhaustible as it is handsome. However, it has not yet received the full publication it deserves. Furthermore, the bearing which it and other manuscripts from the same area have on succeeding developments in Paris, as in the manuscripts coming from the (Continued on page 364)

² Lilian M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966), p. 15; for M. 729 see pp. 34, 95, 155, 166, 235, fig. 383.



Northeast France, probably
Abbey of Cambron, dated 1290

V 2 *Antiphonary of Beaupré*, in Latin. Vellum, 233 leaves, H. 18-3/4,
W. 13-1/4 inches. Provenance: Cistercian Convent of Saint Mary at
Beaupré near Grammont and a dependency of the Abbey of Cambron.
Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, W. 759.

The date and original ownership of the Antiphonary of Beaupré, of which only the first volume of three is shown, appears in this same first volume on the folio facing the opening music for vespers on Easter eve reproduced opposite (folios 1 verso-2). Written in a monumental, upright, and formal script, in alternate red and blue rows of text, the inscription proclaims in Latin: "the book of the church of Saint Maria of Beaupré which was written in the year of the incarnation of the Lord, 1290. If anyone steals it, anathema be on him. If anyone devoutly and honorably handles and uses it, may he be blessed. Amen."¹ The last two lines give the rubrics for the vigils of Easter. The church or abbey referred to must have been that of a Cistercian convent, judging by the habits worn by the abbess and worshiping nuns which appear in several places in the manuscript. The donor of the manuscript, a lady of position, is shown elegantly garbed in the margin outside the great ornamental initial which introduces the service for Easter Sunday and which enframes the scenes of the Resurrection and the Three Marys at the Empty Tomb. The donor is labeled *Domicella de Viana*, the lady of Viane. Below her and also in the margin is a possibly more youthful lady, labeled *Domicella Clementia*. Following these clues, Henry Yates Thompson was able to identify the manuscript with the only Abbey of Beaupré patronized by the Viane family. It was the Cistercian Abbey near Grammont founded in 1228. Donations by Gerard de Viane and Marie de Bornaing, his wife, documented in 1277 and again in 1293, suggest that Marie de Bornaing was the donor. Clementia also appears in the Beaupré records; she may have been a niece or granddaughter of Marie. However, there are no indications of a scriptorium at Beaupré. Indeed, we know that a monk named John was the scribe because he tells us this on a banderole extending from his engaging portrait in the *bas de-page* of the first folio of volume III. Beaupré was a dependency of the

Abbey of Cambron, fifteen miles away, where a scriptorium has been recorded and from which well-illuminated manuscripts have been preserved, several contemporary to the Walters' Antiphonary. One of these, also preserved in the Walters Art Gallery collection, may be illuminated by the same hand, according to the suggestion of Sir Sydney Cockerell.

The Antiphonary is therefore an especially rare thirteenth-century work because its date, ownership, donation, and place of creation are all known.² Also, it is rare because of its large size and format, created to be read by the entire choir. Scarcely any large antiphonaries of English or northeast French workmanship are known to exist, and therefore the Antiphonary of Beaupré may be a nearly unique survivor of changing liturgical tastes and revolution.

However, it is the quality and character of the illumination made to fit the expansive format which has special appeal. The principal illumination is contained within the historiated initials, some of which are nine inches in height. Their simple coloring, fluid linear grace, and highly burnished gold background give these figured initials a special elegance and carrying power. The great letter beginning the first of a triumphant series of *Alleluias* (shown opposite) contains three striding, music-making angels and the scene of Christ trampling over the devil and releasing Adam and Eve from an open hell-mouth. Christ is made the focal point by his brilliant orange robe which dominates the other color areas. The drama is further heightened by the burnished gold background.

The Antiphonary once contained many marginal images, which had little relation to the text. These included animals, some fantastic, and people busied with activity. Unfortunately, many of these have been erased, probably as the result of puritanical tendencies in a subsequent era. Three of the (Continued on page 365)

¹ *Liber ecclesie beate marie de bello prato. Qui scriptus fuit anno ab incarnatione dni millesimo cc^o. nonagesimo. si quis illum abstulerit anathema sit. si quis illum fideliter et honeste tractaverit et servaverit benedictus sit amen.*

² For a more complete account, see Dorothy Miner, "The Antiphonary of Beaupré," *The Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, ix (May 1957), 4-6, repr.

Liber ecclesie beatamarie de bello
prato. Un scriptus hunc anno ab incar-
natione anni millesimo cc. Nonogitimo.
Si quis illum abstulerit anathema sit. si
quis illum hideret et honeste tractauerit.
Lunc feruauit benedictus hic ann.
A nacratissima Virgilia pasche ad
uerperas super psalmos antiphona.



Ile-de-France, Paris, ca.1300,
close to Guillaume Julien

V 3

Quadrilobed Plaque. Gold with cloisonné and translucent enamel,
H. 1-7/8, W. 1-7/8 inches. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Mary
Spedding Milliken Memorial Collection, Gift of William Mathewson
Milliken, 32.537.

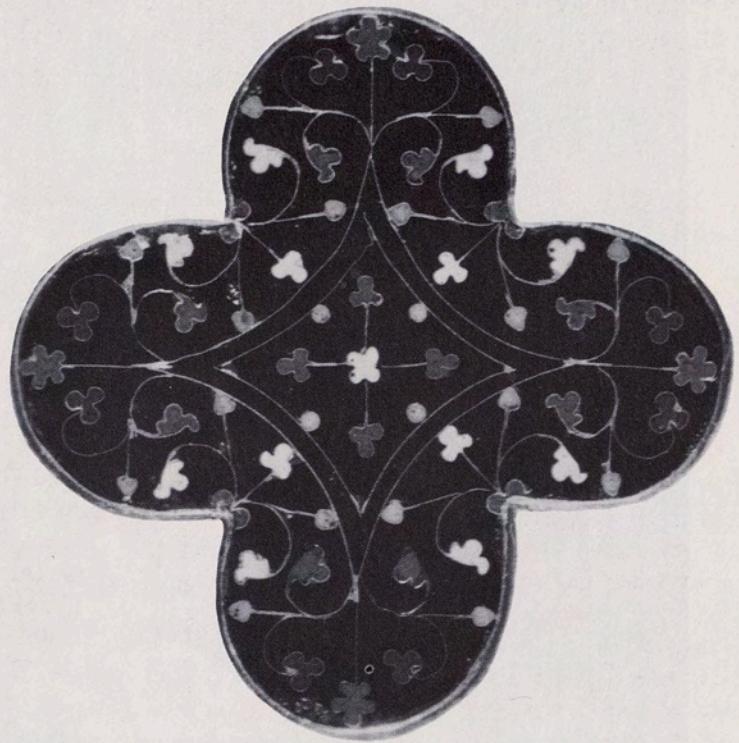
Delicate and diminutive, this exquisite cloisonné enamel has an importance and rarity which belie its size. Clear emerald-green enamel, made bright by the gold shining through from beneath, sets off the thin gold stems and the tiny opaque flowers in yellow, white, blue, and carnelian red. The center is set off by a lozenge shape with curved sides bordered with dark translucent blue enamel. A harmonious balance is maintained between the concave curves of this center piece, the convex curves of the overall quadrilobe, and the tiny echoes and variations in the trilobed, quadrilobed, and five-lobed flowers within. The focal point is a cloisonné cross which is accented at the center by a white quadrilobe and whose arms are terminated with red trilobes. A small yellow disc punctuates the intervening spaces.

This rare enamel may be related to a tradition of cloisonné enameling in Europe which was originally strongly dependent on Byzantine models, especially in technique. Late twelfth-century examples can be seen on the Chalice of Saint Remi in the Treasury at Reims and on the Nef from the Treasury of Saint-Denis now in the Cabinet des Médailles in the Bibliothèque Nationale (see cat. no. III-13). A later example from the end of the fourteenth century and very similar to the Cleveland piece, is a roundel, applied to the figure of the Virgin on the Châsse of Notre-Dame in the Treasury of the Cathedral at Tournai. This suggests that the Cleveland enamel may have originally served a similar purpose.

Also to be considered is a group of enamels, published by C. Enlart, which may be associated with a Parisian artist named Guillaume Julien.¹ This artist is recorded as in the employ of Philippe le Bel. The bust reliquary of Saint Louis, formerly in the Treasury of Sainte-Chapelle, was made in the early fourteenth century for Philippe le Bel, and it is thought that the work, including the enamels, was done by Guillaume Julien. A small *foliole* or leaf of cloisonné enamel from this bust reliquary, preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles, bears close comparison with the Cleveland Plaque as well as with several other enamels which may be grouped together in the same context. These include the Reliquary of Saint-Sang at Boulogne and a series of small plaques now in the Cluny Museum and from the Martin Le Roy collection. These secondary comparisons are almost identical in technique, color, and motifs to the Cleveland work, and as a group they may be dated at the same time or a little earlier than the *foliole* from the reliquary bust of Saint Louis.²

¹ C. Enlart, "L'emailerie cloissoné à Paris sous Philippe le Bel et le maître Guillaume Julien," *Monuments et Mémoires* (Fondation Piot), XXIX, 1-97, pl. 1.

² Helen S. Foote, "A Quatrefoil Medallion of Translucent Enamel," *CMA Bulletin*, XX (March 1933), 38-40, repr.

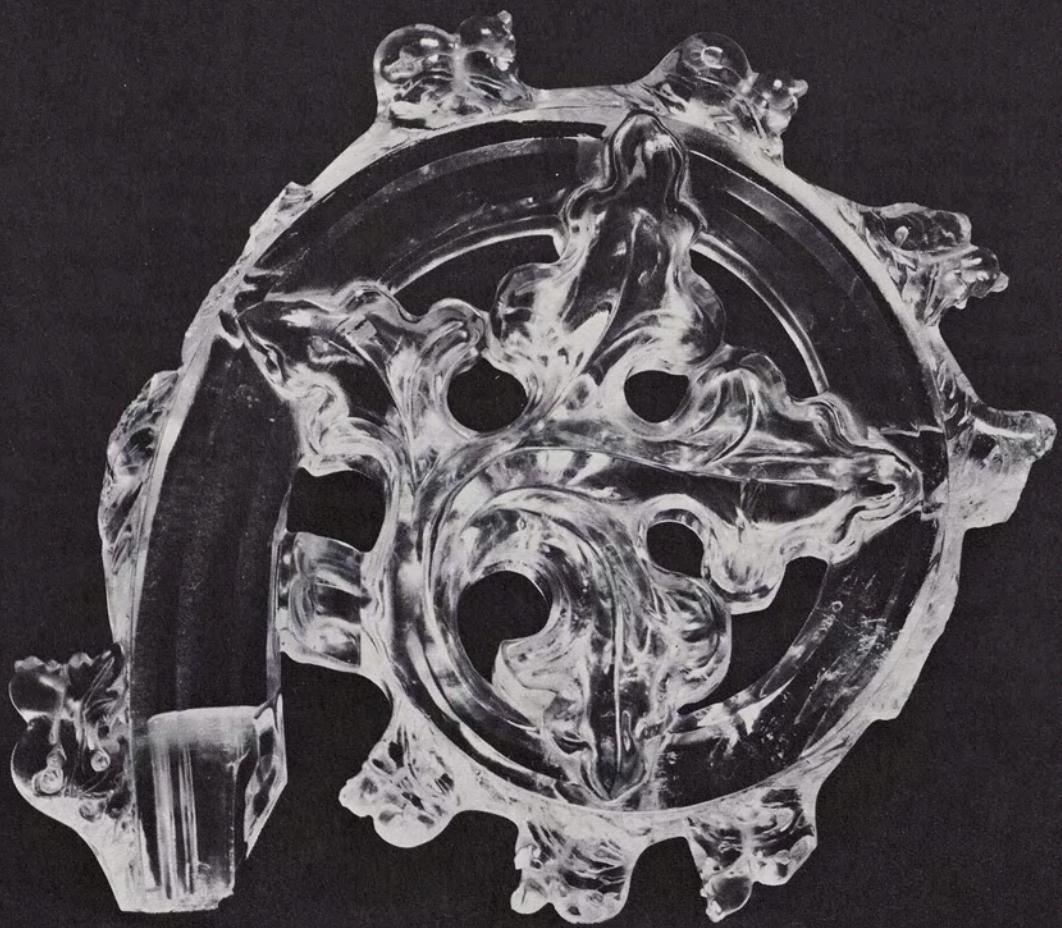


Second half 13th century

V 4

Crosier Head. Rock crystal, H. 4-11/16, W. 4-1/8 inches.
Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.

The foliate forms on this handsome Crosier Head follow those typically found in French architectural ornament. Because of the great facility of carving in an extremely difficult material, together with its elegance of line and form, the finished product may be compared with the best French work in other media. To date, it appears to be the only crosier candidate in this material which might be considered French. This apparent uniqueness is underscored by the fact that all of the rock crystal crosier heads, many in French mounts, which appeared in the great Trésors exhibition in Paris in 1965, were imported in the Middle Ages into France from either Italy (Venice) or Sicily.



Normandy, Rouen (?),
end 13th century

V 5 *Châsse, called Châsse of Saint-Romain.* Gilt copper, repoussé,
champlevé enamel, H. 28-3/4, L. 33-1/2, D. 16-1/2 inches.
Rouen (Seine-Maritime), Treasury of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame.

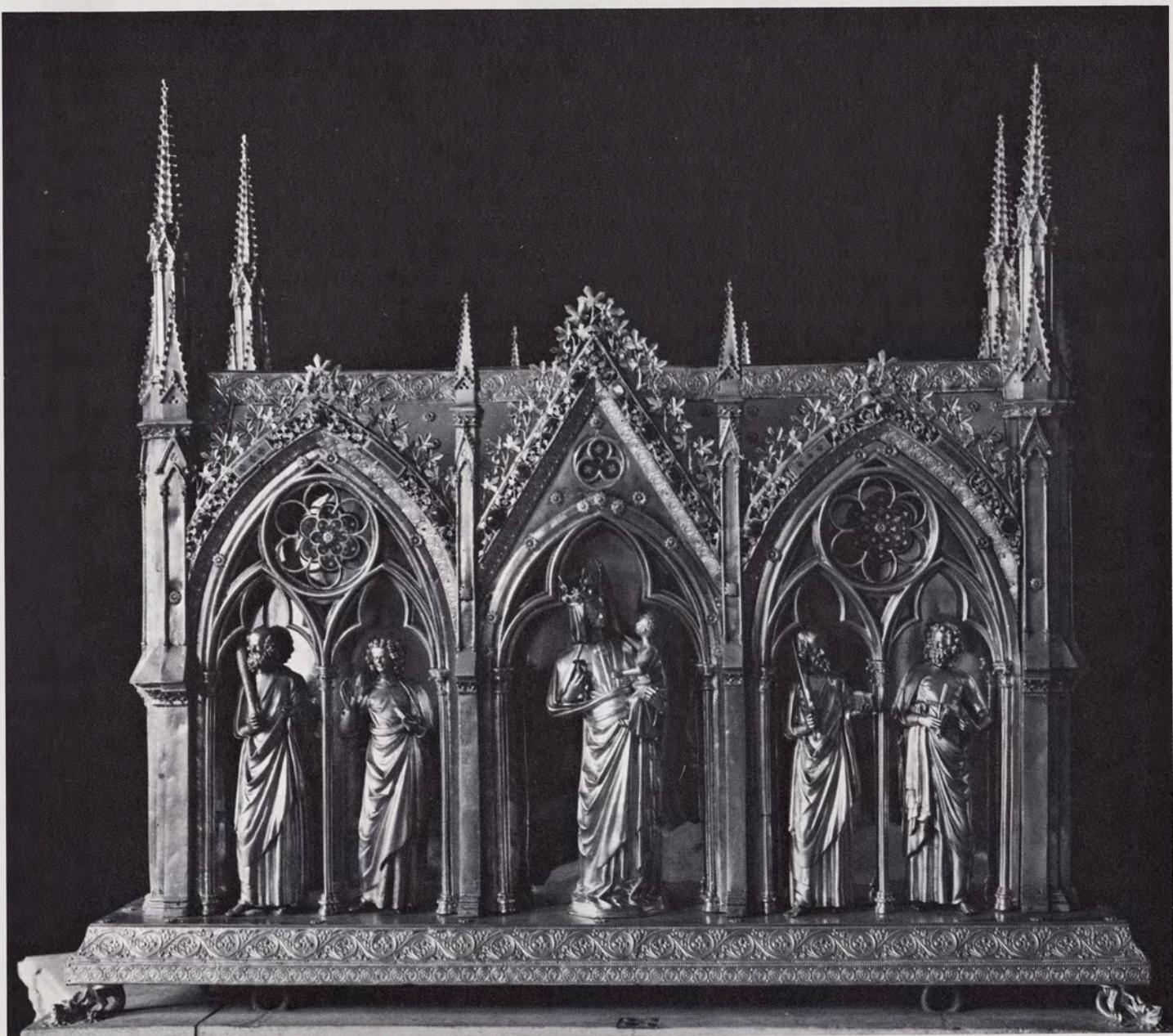
The Rouen Châsse, like the earlier Châsse of Christ Legislateur (cat. no. IV-23), reflects the general architectural forms of its own period. In the present work these have been reduced to a structure with an aisleless nave terminated at each end by a single trilobed arch and twin towers. The sides are graced with additional arches, done in openwork and set with repoussé relief figures and champlevé enamel medallions. Smaller towers flank the central arcade which contains the Virgin and Child on one side and Christ on the other. The originals of these figures, together with those preserved of the twelve apostles in the remaining arcades, reflect contemporary figure style in large-scale sculptures as well as those in north and northeast French manuscripts (see cat. nos. V-1 and 2). In keeping with the format of the Châsse and the metalwork medium, these figures are elongated and a little stiff in stance and gesture. However, in its original form, this Châsse must have given a remarkable sense of architectural grace and opulence.

Unfortunately, this large Châsse has suffered grievously through several restorations and changes in which various parts were replaced by new work and even casts. The first

changes to the Châsse, originally dedicated to All Saints, were made when it was transformed into a Châsse of Saint-Romain in 1776. In 1956 the Châsse was returned as best possible to its original form prior to 1776. Jean Taralon has given in full detail the complex history of the successive changes and an account of its present state.¹ The Châsse is of great value in its exquisite original parts and general form, and also in the lessons for the eye in distinguishing the retained restorations from the original work.

The original work may be assumed to have been done in Rouen. Certainly in its general architectural character and several details it seems to reflect certain thirteenth-century portions of the Cathedral of Rouen. The figures, in their proportions and draperies, recall those of the jambs of the south transept portal, called the Calendar Portal.

¹ Jean Taralon, "La cathédrale de Rouen, le mobilier et le trésor," *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, II, nouv. série (April–June 1956), 125–136; Jean Taralon, "Note complémentaire sur la châsse de Saint-Romain," *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, II, nouv. série (October–December 1956), 235–237.



Ile-de-France,
third quarter 13th century

V 6

Angel of the Annunciation. Wood, traces of paint, H. 31-1/2 inches.
Janville (Oise), église.

Despite the fact that this Angel of the Annunciation has lost not only its hands and wings but also the Virgin which it faced, we may still appreciate the intent of its sculptor. A solid volume fills out and is partly disguised by the draperies which fall in heavy loops beneath the right arm, are pulled tightly downward to the right knee below, and gather in massive folds breaking about the feet. We may sense a certain strength which is not devoid of refinement as in the cap of hair ringed with tight curvilinear curls and in the smoothly modeled face, firm and with a clear brow, strong nose, full lips with a hint of smile, and protruding chin.

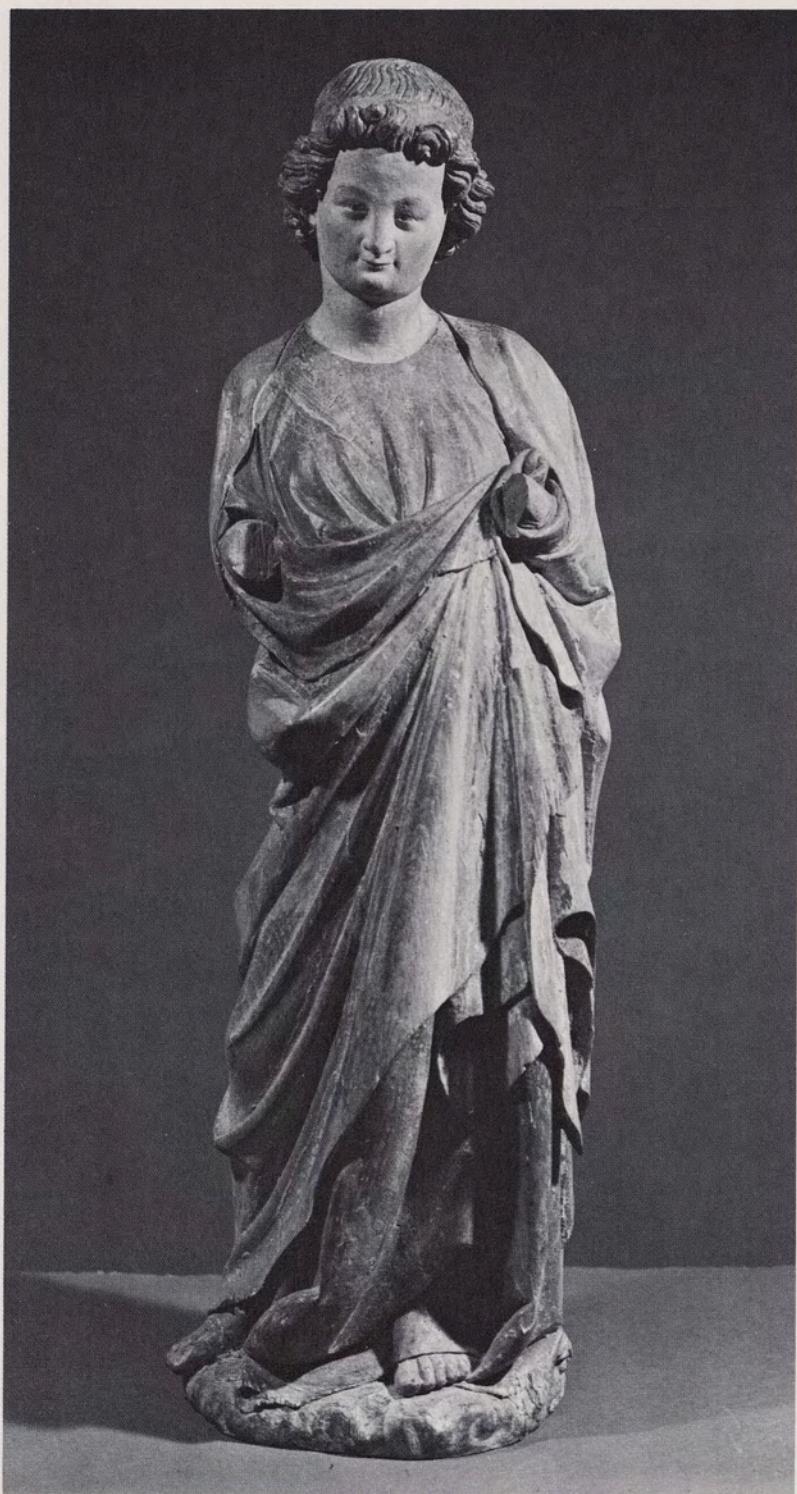
This rare wood sculpture has been compared with the more elegant and ethereal series of wood altar angels preserved in the Louvre, the Berlin Museum, the Cloisters in New York, and in the Churches of Humbert and Saudemont (both Pas-de-Calais).¹ However, what the Janville Angel lacks in feminine refinement and courtly sweetness, it makes up in its more robust sculptural character. It may indeed be a reflection

in this of the great trumeau figure of the Virgin and Child on the north transept of Notre-Dame in Paris dated by Paul Vitry about 1250.² The *hancement* and hint of grandiose mass should be compared also with the more monumental and slightly later sculptures of apostles, carved to adorn the interior pillars of Sainte-Chapelle. The hair and face are the only elements which suggest Reims style, not as represented in the wood altar angels but in their source, the stone angels on the façade portals of the cathedral. The present work must take its relative position among all these works, and a date sometime in the third quarter of the thirteenth century seems to be most likely. Its quality is underscored by a greatly inferior wood Angel of the Annunciation preserved in the Musée des arts décoratifs in Paris.³

² Paul Vitry, *French Sculpture During the Reign of Saint Louis, 1226–1270* (New York, n.d.), p. 63.

³ Jacques Guérin, *Cent chefs-d'oeuvres du Musée des arts décoratifs* (Paris, n.d.), pl. 15.

¹ *La Vierge dans l'art français* (Paris, Petit Palais, 1950), no. 149.



Ile-de-France, ca.1300

V 7

Virgin and Child. Ivory, H. 16-1/8 inches. Provenance: Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, until 1791. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

One of the most sublime visions of the standing Virgin and Child ever given embodiment, this ivory group has excited the admiration of generations who have tramped through endless galleries at the Louvre so that they might confirm its beauty for themselves. This group is one of two or three most familiar Gothic images carved in ivory. The figure of the Virgin sways gently to one side, enveloped in ample yet elegant draperies whose folds, loosely hung, are natural, simple, completely convincing. A feeling of warmth and ennobled humanity pervades the two figures. The Child, supported by the Virgin's left hand held high above her hip, responds to the proffered fruit and appears to laugh. The courtly face of the Virgin with a hint of a smile is sweet without being simpering. No hint of future sorrow is given; she represents an optimistic mother as well as the Queen of Heaven. The exquisiteness of the whole is reflected in the perfection of the smallest details. Traces of the original gold decoration may be seen along the borders of the draperies, on the Virgin's belt, and in her hair.

By all odds the handsomest of all ivory standing Virgins, the present work is nevertheless representative of the group introduced at the height of popularity of the cult of the Virgin for common devotional purposes in numberless private chapels and small oratories scattered over the countryside and abroad. Perhaps dependent at first on the monu-

mental trumeau figures of the same subject on church portals, as at Notre-Dame in Paris or at Amiens Cathedral (*la Vierge dorée*), the ivory Virgins began to develop their own principles of movement and draperies in keeping with the ivory medium, the smaller scale, and above all the private devotional purpose. While the ivories helped to popularize the form of the larger trumeau Virgins, they also altered it, giving the image of the Virgin as a courtly Queen of Heaven a certain ineffable charm. In the hands of lesser craftsmen, this image became saccharine and banal, the complete antithesis of the rare combination of grandeur and intimacy seen in the present work.

The title most frequently used for this incomparable small sculpture is in keeping with its character of exquisite nobility: *la Vierge de la Sainte-Chapelle*. Raymond Koechlin has examined the successive inventories of this royal chapel in Paris and has found descriptions which suggest that such an ivory had been added to the treasury by the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Subsequent inventory references indicate that it resided in the treasury of Sainte-Chapelle until 1790, at which time it disappeared. The present ivory group, which fits the details of the descriptions, was purchased by Alexander Lenoir from Duval. It was sold in Lenoir's sale of 1837. It entered the Louvre in 1861.



Probably Champagne,
late 13th century

V 8

Virgin and Child. Painted wood, H. 16-1/2, W. 3-1/2 inches.
Grandrif (Puy-de-Dome), église.

Although lacking the courtly elegance of the ivory Virgin from Sainte-Chapelle (cat. no. v-7), this appealing and only recently recognized small wood sculpture also depends to a certain extent on the larger stone sculptures of the same subject on the trumeaux of the great cathedrals. The contrapposto pose, the full draperies, the rapport between the Virgin and the Child, the Virgin's slight smile are each features which recall the *Vierge dorée* at Amiens of circa 1250. However, the draperies are perhaps a little closer to the trumeau Virgin at Reims, and the smile itself has come to be thought of especially in relation to other sculptures on the western façade at Reims.

This smaller, more intimate work was undoubtedly the central portion of a portable tabernacle with folding shutters, possibly painted but now lost, which closed about it on iron hinges. The pins for these hinges still remain. Above the Virgin is an architectural canopy not unlike those over the trumeau figures. The present example is supported on tri-lobed arches and surmounted by a cusped and lanceted super-

structure. Both the canopy and the shutters served in offsetting and protecting the precious sculpture within. The sculpture itself is enhanced by substantial vestiges of an earlier polychromy including blue, red, and gold. The outer robe of the Virgin is decorated with medallions set with lion silhouettes in reserve reminiscent of a rich brocade.

The several points of stylistic comparison with the sculptures on the west façade of Reims suggest that the sculptor was familiar with these works and may have carved the small wood example in the region, possibly the commission of a minor aristocrat or a wealthy burgher who wished a Virgin like that at the cathedral for his private chapel or oratory. This must not have been a royal commission, for in that case the material would have been ivory, as in the Virgin from Sainte-Chapelle, or silver gilt as in the Virgin of Jeanne d'Evreux, now also in the Louvre. During its later history the more modest and still lovely work before us must have come into use in the parish church at Grandrif in central France.



North France,
last quarter 13th century

V 9 *Two Altar Angels.* Oak, H. 26-3/8 and 26-1/2 inches. Princeton
(New Jersey), Princeton University, The Art Museum, The Carl
Otto von Kienbusch Jr. Memorial Collection.

The tall stone sculptures of two smiling angels with narrowed eyes, long necks, and spread wings, intended to flank the figure of Saint Nicaise on the west façade of Reims Cathedral, had considerable influence in Reims, in Champagne, and beyond.¹ This influence can be noted especially in sculptures in other materials—metalwork, ivory, and wood. A number of wooden angels, most, if not all, carved in oak, probably were parts of series of such angels meant to stand high above and around an altar on thin columns. Many of such ensembles are recorded.² One particular group is known to have existed in the older cathedral of Arras as recorded in a Triptych of the Miracle of Sainte Chandelle preserved in the present cathedral of Arras. Five angels, out of six in this group originally gilded, are preserved: two in the church at Humbert, two recently discovered examples in the neighboring church at Saudemont, and one in the Louvre (gift of Arthur Sachs). When compared, the five wooden angels show a marked influence from the stone angels at Reims as well as innovations of their own. The draperies are treated more fully and more massively. The wings of the angels at Humbert and Saudemont, now thought to be the original ones, extend upwards in graceful curves in contrast to those at Reims, which spread downwards. Yet the same facial features and hair arrangements are continued, as are the contrapposto poses and tipped heads. These sculptures may be considered as works made in the Artois, possibly even at Arras, and still strongly influenced by Reims, with which there were many ties as pointed out by Chanoine J. Lestocquoy.³ There are several other slightly smaller angels which may constitute one or more additional groups of altar angels. Two of these may be seen in

the Cloisters in New York, another in the Louvre (gift Jeuniette). All of these are stylistically homogenous with the Arras series and may represent the product of one master wood sculptor or one workshop.

A second stylistic group of angels, dependent in other ways on the examples in stone at Reims, represents another master or workshop. Four of these, undoubtedly once of the same measurements, must have come from the one ensemble. These sculptures are a pair formerly in the Martin Le Roy collection⁴ and the pair from Princeton. The latter have been cropped at the bottom, apparently because of decay, and set on rough bases. The smile is not as insistent in this group. The faces lack the nuances of modeling and the eyes are not so puffy. In general they lack the courtly sweetness of the larger works; instead they give a more modest, intimate impression. They were no doubt intended for a smaller setting than those of the cathedral at Arras. However, the Le Roy-Princeton angels were also probably originally placed high on successive tall, thin columns enclosing the altar. These columns may have been connected by rods from which hung curtains. All of these angels may have carried either candelabra, the instruments of the Passion, or censers.

Perhaps the most beautiful of this set of four is the Princeton Angel which reflects most closely the stone angel at Reims next to Saint Nicaise. The gestures of the arms of both figures throw the mantle behind, exposing the long tunic gathered at the waist, here and there pressed against the supple body and hung free in long folds over the weight-bearing leg. In one of the Martin Le Roy angels which also has this feature the comparison is even more clear, because the sculpture retains its feet and the folds of the tunic which break about them, as well as the original base. By contrast the angels in the Arras group more immediately recall the angel adapted as an Annunciation angel at Reims.

(Continued on page 366)

¹ Paul Vitry, *French Sculpture during the Reign of Saint Louis, 1226–1270* (New York, n.d.), pl. 71.

² Richard H. Randall, Jr., "Thirteenth Century Altar Angels," *Records of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, xviii (1959), 2–16.

³ J. Lestocquoy, "Quelques anges artésiens du XIII^e siècle," *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, v (January 1959), 31–34.

⁴ Raymond Koehlin, *Catalogue raisonné de la Collection Martin Le Roy*, vol. ii: ivoires et sculptures (Paris, 1960), nos. 43, 44, pl. xxi.



Early 14th century

V 10 *Virgin and Suckling Christ Child.* Ivory, traces of color, H. 9-1/2,
W. 5, D. 3-1/16 inches. Rouen (Seine-Maritime), Musée des
Antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure.

The Virgin, seated on a backless throne, suckles the Christ Child, who wears a long chemise and holds an apple in his right hand. The Virgin's mantle falls from her head over her shoulders and is pulled across her knees, from which it hangs in deep, heavy folds. The original metal crown, long since lost, has been replaced by a modern one.

The group has a rare three-dimensional validity resulting from a masterful solution of the space-mass problems of the Christ Child seated on the lap of his mother. The great majority of the seated ivory Virgins treat this area nearly as a single mass. In the present work, by contrast, a spatial ambiance separates the Child from the Virgin, as well as relating them. Both figures have a convincing ponderosity and solidity. The resulting expression of monumentality is notable, but it is also kept within the bounds of the subject and the size and medium of the work. Although a great gulf separates its art-

ist from that of the early Renaissance sculptor Jacopo della Quercia, there is a common denominator in their treatment of figural mass and drapery. Jacopo seems to build on the monumental in fourteenth-century Gothic art evident not only in Italy, but also in the north.

The Virgin's face betrays the characteristics of sculptures in Ile-de-France and Champagne in its slight smile, narrowed eyes with puffy lids, delicate brow, and smooth, rounded flesh. The treatment of the figural mass and drapery reflects the developments in the larger stone sculptures in the same regions. Raymond Koechlin catalogues this ivory within his broad group entitled *Le type classique*, whose wide range also includes the Virgin from Sainte-Chapelle (cat. no. v-7). Koechlin dated the Rouen group in the early fourteenth century.



Languedoc, Toulouse,
second quarter 14th century

V 11 *Head of an Apostle.* Limestone, with traces of paint, H. 14, W. 9-1/2,
D. 8 inches. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the
J. H. Wade Fund, 60.170.

While Romanesque sculpture in Languedoc has been widely discussed and has been well known for years, Gothic sculpture in this region has only recently been the subject of several revealing studies and exhibitions.¹ It was even once thought that the great fertility of the Romanesque period was followed by either a void or mostly mediocre works with very few isolated masterpieces. It is now recognized that the area has produced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a whole series of sculptures which are qualitatively on a par with the best work in other areas. These sculptures take their place now with the monuments which seemed before to be only isolated exceptions to the general picture: in the fourteenth century, the large sculptures from the Chapel of Rieux in Toulouse and in the fifteenth century, the choir statutes at Albi and the Notre-Dame de Grasse at Toulouse. In recognition of the new knowledge of a whole body of works, three important sculptures are illustrated and discussed: the present monumental Head of an Apostle, probably from the second quarter of the fourteenth century, a silver-gilt Saint Christopher of circa 1400, and a marble Saint Margaret of the late fifteenth century (cat. nos. vi-7, vii-12).

It is necessary for the understanding of the first of these to initially consider the Chapelle de Rieux sculptures in Toulouse. Jean Tissendier, Bishop of Rieux from 1324 to his death in 1348, ordered a group of twenty sculptures including figures of Christ, the Virgin, twelve apostles, Saint John the Baptist, Saint Louis of Anjou, and several saints particularly venerated by the Franciscan order. These must have been used against the interior buttresses of his sepulchral chapel, called the Chapelle de Rieux in the Church of the Cordeliers in Toulouse. The program also included two portraits of Tissendier himself, one a marble recumbent tomb figure and the other a kneeling figure presenting a model of the chapel itself. In 1803, when the convent of the Cordeliers was demolished, the statutes were moved to the Musée du

¹ See introductions by Jacques Dupont and Marcel Durliot and bibliographies in *Trésors d'art gothique en Languedoc* (Montauban: Musée Ingres, 1961).

Midi de la République, after which several were dispersed. The chapel itself, built between 1324 and 1344, was destroyed by fire in 1871.

Today, fifteen of the standing figures are in the Musée des Augustins; two are in the Church of Taur at Toulouse; two, after being in the collection of a Toulouse glassmaker, Gesta, were sold and are now in the Museum at Bayonne; one apostle has disappeared.² All of them were carved in a limestone which Henri Rachou called *pierre calcaire de Belbèze*. Casts of some of the sculptures appeared in Paris around 1910 and were the basis of several forgeries, all smaller than the originals, discussed and illustrated by the late James J. Rorimer.³ Several of the casts, but not all of them, eventually appeared in the collection of casts in the Trocadero Museum of Paris.

The originals of the standing figures measure about six feet three inches, which in the Middle Ages would have been considered a little over life-size. The stone was originally painted and gilded because a significant amount of the original polychromy still remains. All but three of the figures retain most or portions of their original nimbi carved from the same block as the sculptures themselves. These were decorated with deeply cut radiating grooves encircled by a pearl decoration in reserve and a double engraved fillet. Each figure carried an attribute or a book or both. Their hair was either abundant and full or was tightly curled. Three of the saints were beardless; the others tended to have very full, long, curly beards. Viewing each head frontally, the curls of the hair and beard were arranged more or less symmetrically. However, this symmetry is not so apparent when viewing any one figure in its entirety, as the heads in every instance are inclined forward and turned to one side at the same time. No two heads in the series are exactly alike, although there is a certain com-

(Continued on page 366)

² Henri Rachou, *Les statues de la chapelle de Rieux et de la basilique Saint-Sernin au Musée de Toulouse* (Toulouse, 1910).

³ James J. Rorimer, "Forgeries of Medieval Stone Sculpture," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6 Per., xxvi (1944), 208-209, figs. 18, 20-23.



Ile-de-France, Paris(?),
early 14th century

V 12 *Diptych with Scenes of the Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion, and Resurrection.* Silver-gilt and translucent enamel on silver, H. 2-7/16,
W. (open), 3-13/32 inches. New York, Mr. and Mrs. Leopold Blumka.

Minute figures act out their momentous dramas in sequence on four tiny "stages" in this small devotional Diptych meant to be hung on the wall of a private oratory or by the bed of some devout noble person. The setting for these dramas is a deep, vibrant translucent blue enamel over silver. The figures on the interior depicting the Annunciation and the Nativity are cast in silver and parcel gilt, as is the proscenium above with its trilobed arches and cusped gables with pinnacles. On the reverse, the figures and gabled arches are rendered in brilliant enamel. Each scene is delicately framed by a concave molding with four-pronged stars. Two small holes in this frame confirm the fact that the Diptych was once hung, probably on a chain. The smooth, heavier outer frame and hinge may be of later date.

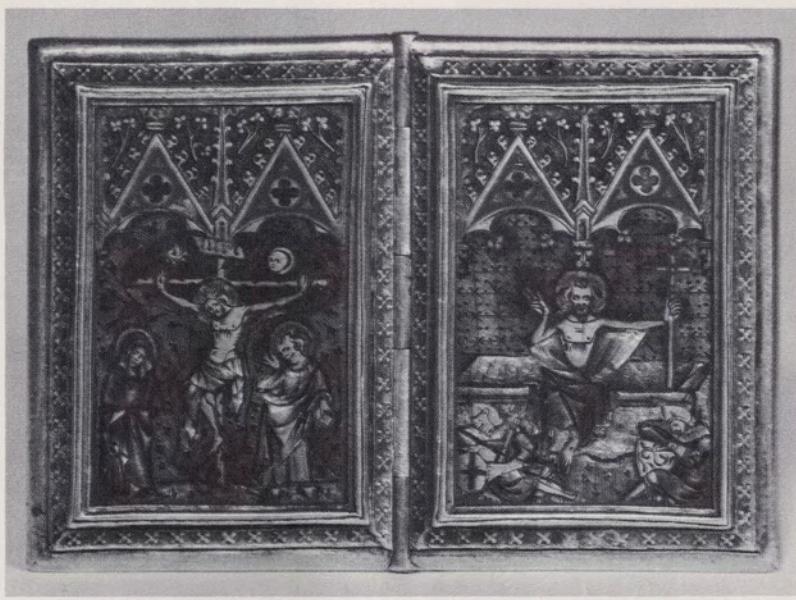
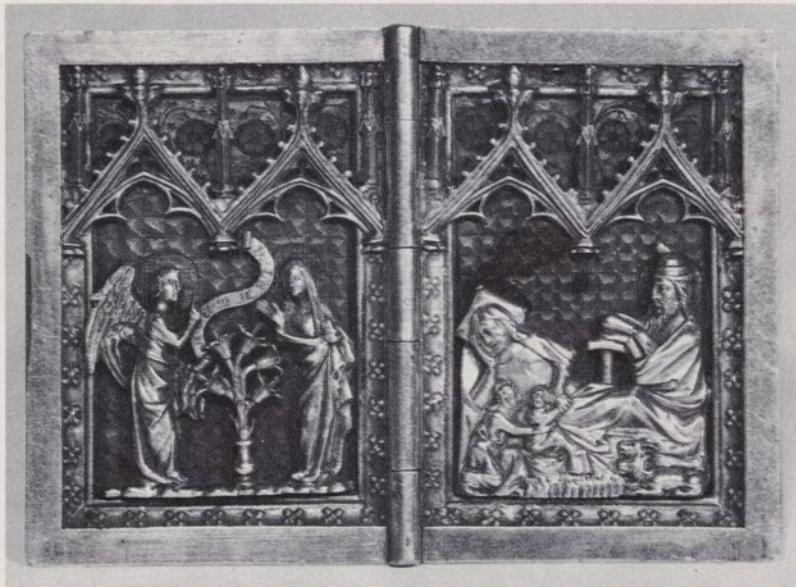
In terms of jewel-like color, refined yet incisive delineation of outline and drapery folds, and excellence of workmanship, this exquisite enamel Diptych has few qualitative peers among a group of translucent enamels of the same distinctive type. The enamels in this group, some of which are mounted in large and elaborate settings, have been variously localized as Anglo-French, English, northern French, French, Rhenish, and Hungarian. Some have been assigned to specific centers such as Paris and Aachen. One of the larger complexes is the base for the silver-gilt statuette of the Virgin given by Jeanne d'Evreux to the royal abbey of Saint-Denis in 1339 now in the Louvre. A paten dated 1333, a chalice, and a cruet, the latter with a *fleur-de-lis* stamp, are in the National Museum in Copenhagen. The shrine with enameled wings thought to have belonged to Elizabeth of Hungary is now in the Cloisters, New York. Also to be considered are the tabernacle in the Pierpont Morgan Library, the similar one in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum, the base of a large reliquary cross in the Cathedral of Pamplona, the four-part folding altarpiece in Vienna, the single enamel mounted as a pendant with its original chain in the Metropolitan Museum, the triptych in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, another triptych and the leaf from a diptych in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and a

reliquary in the Taft Museum in Cincinnati, together with several shrines or reliquaries preserved in the Cathedral Treasury at Aachen.¹

All of these works contain small chiseled silver plaques with translucent enamel; most of these are of about the same size. Certain decorative motifs may be found in varying combinations. Specific colors and their use in figures, background, and architecture seem to repeat. Many are supplemented with frames enhanced by a beaded or a four-pronged star (or cross-stitch) motif, as on the Blumka Diptych. Some have small cast relief figures, also as in the present Diptych. The basis of the figure style in both these reliefs and the enamels seems to be that of the work of the Parisian miniaturist, Honoré. In the figure proportions, draperies, architectural canopies, decorated backgrounds with delicate vine tendrils, or geometric motifs may be seen reflections of Maître Honoré and the traditions which he augmented.

There are obvious and also subtle differences within the enamel group, and in addition there is a considerable range in quality. It seems that as the fourteenth century progressed the figures became sketchy and the architectural canopies or frames became looser and even sloppy. A parallel may be seen in the waning Honoré-Pucelle tradition in the second half of the fourteenth century up to Jean Bondol and even contemporary with him. Something of such an evolution is suggested in following the enamels utilized in larger works whose settings can be loosely dated. The base for the Virgin of Jeanne d'Evreux, the Poldi-Pezzoli tabernacle and the Simeonsreliquiar at Aachen, datable in the first and second quarters of the fourteenth century, represent high points of style and (Continued on page 367)

¹ For some of these and other examples, see Erich Steingräber, "A Silver Enamel Cross in the Carrand Collection," *Connoisseur*, CXL (August 1957), 16-20, figs. 6-12. Margaret B. Freeman, "A Shrine for a Queen," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, xxv (June 1963), 327-339, figs. 1, 3, 12, 15, and color fold-out.



Ile-de-France, Paris,
end of first third 14th century

V 13 *Central Plaque from a Triptych: Virgin and Child with Angels.*
Ivory, with traces of color, H. 9, W. 4 1/2 inches. The Cleveland
Museum of Art, Gift of J. H. Wade and Mr. and Mrs. John L. Severance, 23.719.

This ivory plaque, the central portion of a triptych, may be mentioned as another example in a whole series which Raymond Koechlin put together under the general heading of Atelier of the Tabernacles of the Virgin.¹ This is a very loose group in which the examples date over a period of more than a century but which have in common the central representation of the Virgin and Child frequently flanked with angels and sometimes with scenes of the Life of the Virgin on the wings. The Cleveland example once had such wings, whose loss apparently took with them the side edges and columns of the central plaque. Two of the angels are typical candle-bearing examples. A third angel holds a crown over the Virgin's head. The trilobed arch over the Virgin, the trilobed opening above, the foliate capitals and small bases are all typical of the larger group of ivory tabernacles. Stylistically the Cleveland relief can be closely related with single examples in the Musée de l'hôtel Prince at Angers, the Berlin Museum,

¹ Raymond Koechlin, "Quelques atelier d'ivoires français au XIII^e et XIV^e siècles, II, L'atelier des Tabernacles de la Vierge," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd Per., XXXIV (1905), 453–471.

and the Louvre which are illustrated by Koechlin in his article.² Despite the losses, the Cleveland ivory is of a similar high level of quality. It is also of unusually large size. Its purpose, like the others in the group, was as a small altarpiece for a private chapel or oratory. It is also notable in the vestiges of color which, together with other examples, suggests that most Gothic ivories were partially painted and gilded. Here again, as in so many examples, we may sense the inspiration of the larger trumeau Virgins, especially that of the *Vierge dorée* at Amiens. The angels might be viewed as the heir to a long series of such works on a larger scale in wood and stone. They should be compared especially with the larger oak altar angels of the later thirteenth century (see cat. no. v–9). However, the characteristics of the larger and earlier works are fully adapted to the smaller, more exquisite and intimate context.

² See for additional comparisons: William M. Milliken, "An Ivory of the Early XIV Century," *CMA Bulletin*, x (December 1923), 174–178, repr. on cover and p. 174.



According to the opinion of Kathleen Morand, this exquisite Psalter containing eight historiated initials was probably made by one of the artists who later assisted Jean Pucelle on the famous Belleville Breviary, circa 1323–1326, in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Entries in the Calendar suggest that it may have been made for Blanche of Brittany, widow of Philippe d'Artois and grandmother of Jeanne d'Evreux, the third wife of Charles IV of France. In any case, it typifies the best in small devotional books created especially for the aristocratic laymen in the early fourteenth century. A Book of Hours in the Spencer collection of the New York Public Library is illuminated by a very similar hand and must certainly come from the same workshop. The Spencer Hours was written for a younger member of the same house, Blanche de France, Duchess of Orléans and daughter of Charles IV and Jeanne d'Evreux. The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, illuminated by Jean Pucelle, is another related work (cat. no. v-15). Such small devotional volumes, while of varying artistic importance, are found in increasing numbers in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Several of the most outstanding examples are illustrated and discussed here.

The figural inventions seen in the eight historiated initials of the Walters Psalter grow out of the Paris tradition typified by Maître Honoré, who signed a Gratian Decretals, a manuscript now at Tours and datable before 1288. The systems of drapery folds, the figure proportions, and the physiognomies in the Walters Psalter develop out of this tradition which also encompassed the pictorial style of contemporary enamels (see cat. no. v-12). However, the Psalter painter does not

attempt the soft modeling which Maître Honoré perfected and upon which the contributions of Jean Pucelle are built. Instead, the decorator of the present manuscript translates this modeling into line and uses shading as an adjunct to line. While the conservatism in these matters becomes all the more apparent when contrasted with the work of Pucelle, we can still admire their creator for his exquisite perfection within his own metier. In fact, the Walters manuscript as a whole has enormous appeal because this perfection is sustained throughout, in the work of the scribe and of the decorator who created the sparsely leafed stems in the margins.

A number of the inventions seen in this manuscript continue to be used in the later fourteenth century, as a comparison with the Gotha Missal of 1375 bears out (cat. no. vi-3). Common to both manuscripts is the basic format of relatively large historiated initials with diapered backgrounds of color and gold set into the text, which in turn is framed by a delicate stemwork and sparse yet sprightly ivy leaves. Something of the character of the figure painting continues in the later manuscript, with important changes wrought in terms of light and dark modeling and greater realism, features in the Gotha Missal which develop out of Maître Honoré and Pucelle. Some compositions are particularly similar; for example, the figures of the Father and the Son in the Trinity miniature in the Psalter are seated in a similar way as the figures of the Virgin and Christ in the Coronation of the Virgin miniature in the Gotha Missal. The thrones, too, are similar, especially in their quadrilobed recesses.

num qui fecit nos. Venite adoremus. a.

Exultate. Seculorum amen. psalm.
Exultate deo ad
iuston niv: ui
bulate deo iacob.
Exultate psal
num et date
tympanum:
psalterium io
annum cum
cythara. Exultate in neomenia tu
la: in iisigni die sollempnitatis nostre.
Exulta preceptum in israel est: et audi
tum deo iacob.



Ile-de-France, Paris, ca.1325–1328,
by Jean Pucelle, active ca.1319–1350

V 15

Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, in Latin, for Dominican use. Vellum, 209 leaves, H. 3-1/2, W. 2-7/16 inches. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection.

In a codicil to her will, Jeanne d'Evreux, who died March 4, 1371, bequeathed to the reigning monarch, Charles v, *un bien petit livret d'oroisons* which Charles iv, her husband, had had made for her and which *pucelle enlumina*. This manuscript may be identical with a Dominican Book of Hours listed in Charles v's inventory of 1380 and which was said to have belonged to Jeanne d'Evreux. It also may be connected with a Dominican Book of Hours illuminated in black and white by Pucelle which appears subsequently in the inventories of 1401, 1413, and 1416 of the collections of John, Duke of Berry.¹ A dating for the manuscript between the marriage of Charles le Bel and Jeanne d'Evreux in 1325 and Charles's death in 1328 seems secure. The Cloisters Hours has been reasonably identified with these sources and also with two other manuscripts—the Belleville Breviary and the Bible of Robert de Billyng dated 1326, both of which give in varying degrees an indication of Pucelle's personal style along with actual citations of his name and several of his assistants. To this evidence must be added the depiction of a crowned queen in prayer, which appears twice in the Cloisters manuscript.

The present manuscript, undoubtedly therefore the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, contains many of the usual textual features of a medieval book of hours, a personal volume intended for use in private service or prayer. It contains a Calendar, the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of Saint Louis (particularly dear to the Valois), the Seven Penitential Psalms, and the Litanies of the saints. There are twenty-five full-page miniatures and countless images in the margins, in the interiors of certain initials and at many line endings. The miniatures are paired in the Hours of the Virgin; one scene is taken from the life of the Virgin while the other represents an episode in the Passion of Christ. These are prefixed to each of the canonical hours in the Office of the Virgin. Scenes from the life of Saint Louis accompany each of the canonical hours in the Hours of Saint Louis. The twenty-fifth

¹ For full quotation and discussion of these sources, see Kathleen Morand, *Jean Pucelle* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 31–36.

miniature of Christ in Majesty appears as the frontispiece to the Penitential Psalms.

While the most complete conception of Pucelle's style must be gathered in relation to a whole group of manuscripts discussed by Kathleen Morand in her revealing monograph on the artist, the purest impression of this style can be seen in the present manuscript, because all of the imagery is entirely by one hand. It has been generally acknowledged that Pucelle's position as one of the greatest of French medieval artists is due to his paintings in this work, in which he was able to adapt creatively to his own purposes borrowings from contemporary developments in northern France, the area where he may have originated, in Italy, where he may have traveled, and in Paris, where he certainly did all of the work by which we have come to know his artistic personality.

Lilian M. C. Randall has pointed out that Pucelle's work was "one of the last creative high points in marginal illumination during the gradual *détente* in the second quarter of the fourteenth century on both sides of the Channel."² His animated *drôleries*, whether in the line endings or more clearly in the margins, were in fact not characteristic of Parisian illumination but of north French, Netherlandish, and English manuscripts—the latter perhaps the source of its original development, according to Erwin Panofsky.³ Panofsky also speculates that Pucelle may have come from the north or northeast provinces, because of the influence of those regions, whose style is exemplified in such manuscripts as the Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons and the Antiphonary of Beaupré (cat. nos. v-1,2). This suggestion, tentatively accepted by Carl Nordenfalk, is rejected by Mrs. Morand.⁴ In any event, the animated figures and fantastic creatures, which populate the initials, line endings, and margins of the Clois-

² Lilian M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966), p. 10.

³ Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), I, 31.

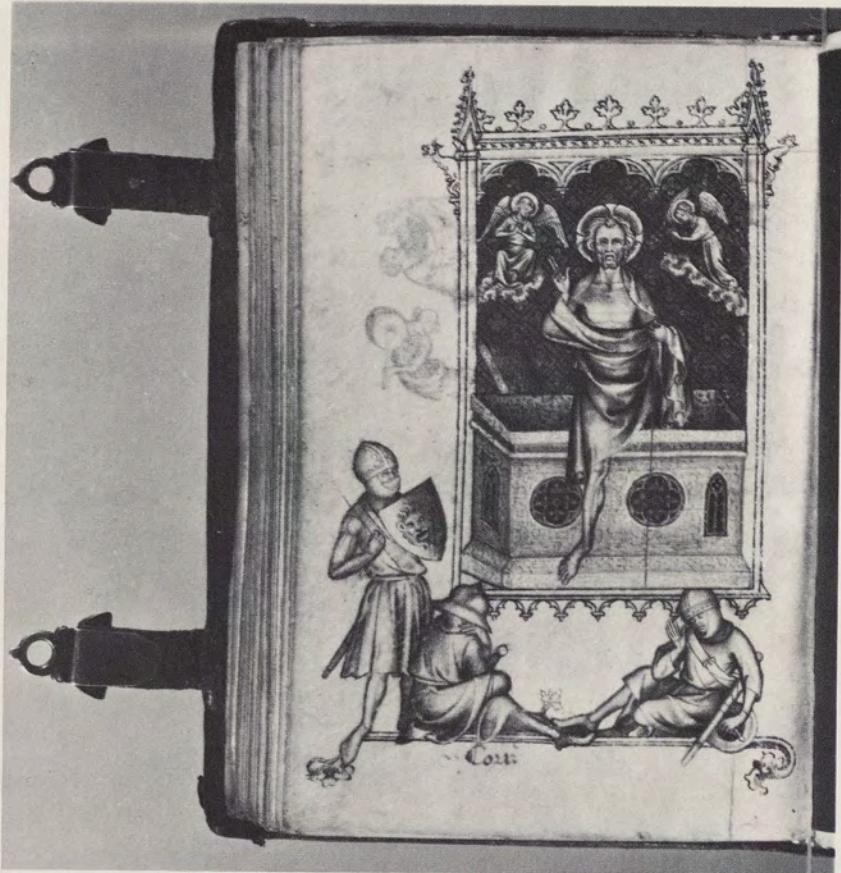
⁴ Carl Nordenfalk, "Maître Honoré and Maître Pucelle," *Apollo*, LXXIX (May 1964), 359; Morand, p. 14.



ters Hours, have been the subject of several specialized studies which have underscored their enormous richness and variety.⁵ The themes indicated include games, parodies, farce, music and musical instruments, arms and armor. In most instances, the references are to contemporary activities, not to Biblical ones, and the equipment is of Pucelle's day, whether it be a psaltery or a basinet. In the pages reproduced in color overleaf (folios 154 verso-155), we may see several of these marginal decorations and line endings. The two musical instruments illustrated on the right-hand page are the bagpipe and the vielle, the latter played awkwardly by the monster in the large initial at the top of the page.

⁵ Randall; also, *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., XVI (June 1958), 269-292 (includes: "Frog in the Middle" by Richard H. Randall, Jr., "Bagpipes for the Lord" by Emanuel Winternitz, "Medieval Armor in a Prayer Book" by Stephen V. Grancsay).

While there is apparently little or no discernible relationship between many of these amusing diversions and the text or the main miniature, there are several important instances where the story of the miniature is continued or even completed in the *bas-de-page* below. The scene of the Massacre of the Innocents is shown beneath the miniature of the Adoration of the Magi (folio 69), the fallen pagan idols are depicted beneath the Flight into Egypt (folio 83), and the sleeping soldiers at the holy sepulcher are illustrated beneath the miniature of the Resurrection (folio 94 verso). Also, the works of charity and healing for which Saint Louis was known, as seen in the miniature showing the saint administering to a sick man, are further underscored by two crippled beggars who crouch in the margin below. Similarly the miniature showing the death of the saint is supplemented by two crouching and cowled mourners. Beneath the miniature



of Christ in Majesty are two figures suggestive of Old Testament prophets, precursors to those on the corbels of the portal at the Chartreuse de Champmol or the gilt Kneeling Prophet (cat. no. vi-20).

One of the most striking features of Pucelle's style, especially evident in the Cloisters Hours, is its very painterly quality as seen in the modeling of the figures in terms of chiaroscuro with little recourse to linear contours except in facial features, hands, and hair. In this Pucelle builds upon the style and formulas of the Parisian miniaturist, Maître Honoré. Pucelle makes his tiny figures a little more solid and weighty without becoming sculptural and without losing their painterly character. He also gives his figures a sense of freer movement. His method in the present work is a subtle use of a semi-grisaille technique in which he reserves all color accents for the backgrounds, the architectural settings, and

flesh tones. It is not certain whether the selection of the semi-grisaille technique is to be explained purely in terms of Pucelle's stylistic predilections, his technical development, the requirements of the minute format of the present work, or whether it has some religious or symbolic significance, as in the case of the later altarcloths and painted shutters for altarpieces whose grisaille images had significance as a Lenten observance.⁶

Another striking element of Pucelle's art, abundantly evident in the present manuscript, is the combination of his talents at chiaroscuro with a tentative attempt at linear perspective to suggest the ambiance of interior space. Nowhere is this better observed than in the often-reproduced miniature of the Annunciation (folio 16), the less familiar scene of a

⁶ See Morand, p. 13; Molly Teasdale Smith, "The Use of Grisaille as a Lenten Observance," *Marsyas*, VIII (1959), 43-54.



Miracle of Saint Louis (folio 102 verso), and in the barely-known calendar miniature for February (folio 2 verso). A hint of interior space can be felt also in the miniature reproduced in color in which the Saint, miraculously receiving his Breviary from a heavenly dove, is enveloped within a Saracen fortress illustrating the latest European military architecture. The aerial depiction of such architecture may have been influenced by Giotto or Sienese painting. Similarly and more precisely, Erwin Panofsky has found the possible models for the Annunciation and the earlier Miracle miniature in panels in Duccio's Maesta of 1308–1311, one of the great masterpieces of Sienese panel painting. Pucelle's use of Italian architectural space settings makes it possible for him to abandon on these occasions the flat arcades and tracery canopies of earlier French miniature painting, symbolized in Paris by the Life of Saint Denis (Bibliothèque Nationale MS. fr. 2091) and

represented in the northern provinces by the Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons (cat. no. v-1). On other pages, he reflects and simplifies these very same traditions, rendering the remnants in exquisite pen-drawn buttresses, arches, crockets, and pinnacles. The remarkable point of all this is that there is no jarring discrepancy in the two systems of framing; they are exquisitely dovetailed on successive pages with each other and with frameless miniatures occurring throughout the book. The frames almost lose themselves in a common touch effected by his delicate brush and pen.

Another great contribution of Pucelle lay in his ability to convey emotional states and psychological expression in the figures which people the minute dramas in the present tiny volume. According to Professor Panofsky and following Emile Mâle, Pucelle was the first northern artist to replace (Continued on page 368)

Ile-de-France, Paris,
first third 14th century

V 16 *Pyxis: Boîte à hosties de Cîteaux.* Ivory, H. 5-3/4, Diam. 5-3/8
inches. Provenance: Said to be from Abbey of Cîteaux. Dijon
(Côte-d'Or), Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Intended as a eucharistic container, this cylindrical ivory box or Pyxis had a function similar to that of the Limoges Coffret (cat. no. III-35). Yet the ivory bears no resemblance to the earlier container, and its figural style is completely representative of the fine Gothic ivory carving style of the fourteenth century. Also, the trilobed arcade and the soft fluid draperies immediately betray this date. Presenting a cycle of scenes from the Life of the Virgin, in the lower register within the arcade are depicted the Visitation, Annunciation, Adoration of the Magi, Nativity, and Presentation. Above are the scenes of the Journey of the Magi, Annunciation to the Shepherds, Massacre of the Innocents, Miracle of the Grain Field (from the Apocrypha), and Flight into Egypt.

Because of analogies in the arches and the figures, Raymond Koechlin assigned the Pyxis to the nebulous Atelier of the Tabernacles of the Virgin (see cat. no. V-13). While close stylistic relationships may be found with particular ivories in this group, it is difficult to isolate individual workshops. The Dijon Pyxis can also be compared to larger sculptures of the fourteenth century, such as retabiles and tomb reliefs, which illustrate a tendency to use increasingly Gothic arcades as a

method of framing and compositional accent. This system continues into the later fourteenth century and finally becomes three-dimensional in the pseudo-cloister arcades in the tombs at the Chartreuse de Champmol (cat. no. VI-21). While considerably earlier than the Burgundian tombs, the ivory Pyxis follows their simpler antecedents like the Tomb of Saint Louis (d. 1270) from the Abbey of Royaumont now in Saint-Denis or like the Tomb of the Heart of Thibault v de Champagne (d. 1270) from the Dominican Church at Provins.¹ The Pyxis has in common with these earlier tombs an encompassing rhythmically and architecturally ordered relief sequence.

The provenance of the Abbey of Cîteaux is not completely certain. Another source, the Chartreuse de Champmol, has been mentioned. While these are not necessarily conflicting sources, there is at the moment no documentation which confirms either of them.

¹ Repr. Joan Evans, *Art in Medieval France* (London, 1948), pls. 206 and 128 respectively. See also *L'Art en Champagne* (Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, 1959), no. 37, pl. vi.



Ile-de-France, Paris,
mid-14th century

V 17

Crosier Head with Virgin and Child with Angels and the Crucifixion.
Ivory, H. 5-3/16 inches. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 71.231.

This is the third and last of the series of bishop's crosier heads shown here (see cat. nos. iv-20, v-4), and it illustrates an historiated type in which the Crucifixion with the Mourning Virgin and Saint John is addorsed to the Standing Virgin flanked by candle-bearing angels. The style is somewhat looser and more relaxed than that found on other contemporary ivory objects and is typical of the many crosiers in this material. However, the motifs and poses of the various figures are reflections of a style pervasive in many works in different materials during the middle decades of the fourteenth century. It is notable that the animal-headed volute of the earlier Limoges crosiers still reflecting a Romanesque spirit is here replaced by a curled stem covered with pointed ivy leaves.



Ile-de-France, Paris,
ca.1320-1350

V 18 *Mirror Back: Lady and Gentleman Playing Chess.* Ivory, Diam. 4 inches. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 40.1200.

V 19 *Mirror Back: Siege of the Castle of Love.* Ivory, H. 4-1/2, W. 4-1/4 inches. Seattle Art Museum, Donald E. Frederick Memorial Collection.

A number of fourteenth-century ivory objects illustrate chivalric subjects which were very much in vogue at that time in poetry and other literary works. Ivory mirror backs provided the perfect occasion to cater to this taste, and these two examples are typical of the best workmanship in these objects in a lady's everyday life.

The Cleveland Mirror Case illustrates a gentleman and a lady playing chess beneath a drapery canopy supported by a pole beyond the chess table. It has probably lost the usual four chimerical creatures around its rim which are preserved in other examples. The gentleman is dressed in a hooded flowing gown, while his comely companion wears an even longer gown as well as a mantle over her head and a wimple. Her coiffure causes the mantle to bulge at the sides, giving a curious triangular effect. The puffy eyes and slight smiles are indications of the continuation of these features first seen at Reims in Champagne during the second half of the thirteenth century (see cat. no. v-9). The courtly gestures, the tipped heads, and the crossed knee are characteristic mannerisms of fourteenth-century style in many media. The subject probably refers to the *Romance of Huon de Bourdeaux*, in which the gentleman before us engages the daughter of a Saracen admiral in a game of chess. The stakes were high, for if Huon

lost, he was to be decapitated; if he won, he was to have gained the lady's favors and a sum of money.

The more intricately carved but still stylistically related ivory Mirror Back from Seattle also reflects contemporary garb and manners. It retains its rim decoration, four engaging wyverns. The subject in the center is the Siege of the Castle of Love from the *Romance of the Rose*, the popular poem begun by Guillaume de Lorris and finished by Jean de Meung about 1280. The composition, like that of the Cleveland example, is based on symmetry, although the animated movement of the figures tends to disguise this. Sherman E. Lee has vividly described the scene: "In the foreground mounted knights are shown in battle and from the castle the ladies throw roses in a token defense. Two knights climb trees to the battlements, one offering his sword, hilt foremost, in surrender. One knight, without armor, has pierced the defenses and stands embracing one of the fair defenders. The whole scene is conceived in a lively and charming fashion with especial attention to the heads with their knowledgeable Gothic smiles . . . the Siege carries us to a wonderland where all knights are heroes and all ladies fair."¹

¹ Sherman E. Lee, in *Art Quarterly*, XII (Spring 1949), 193.



Ile-de-France, Paris,
ca.1330–1350

V 20

Casket. Ivory, H. 4-1/2, L. 9-11/16, D. 4-13/16 inches.
Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 71.264.

The Walters ivory Casket continues in the same vein as the two mirror backs (cat. nos. v-18,19). The Casket, one of only seven intact examples, was probably used as a container for jewelry, other small objects of value, or personal items owned by a fourteenth-century lady of position. The scenes depicted are an allegorical exegesis on the power of youthful love, and elements of honor, virtue, and folly connected with it as symbolized in episodes from contemporary literature.¹

The principal scene is in the two center sections of the lid which depict a tournament whose theme is chivalric courage in praise of the love of a lady. The flanking compartments illustrate, as in the Seattle Mirror Back, the Siege of the Castle of Love. The knights use current equipment of warfare in the siege but with ammunition of flowers. The success of the siege is illustrated in the right-hand compartment.

The scenes included on the front panel are two episodes from the *Lai* by Henri d'Andely (one with the humiliation of Aristotle on all fours bearing Campaspe on his back) and two sequences emphasizing the rejuvenating powers of the Fountain of Youth.

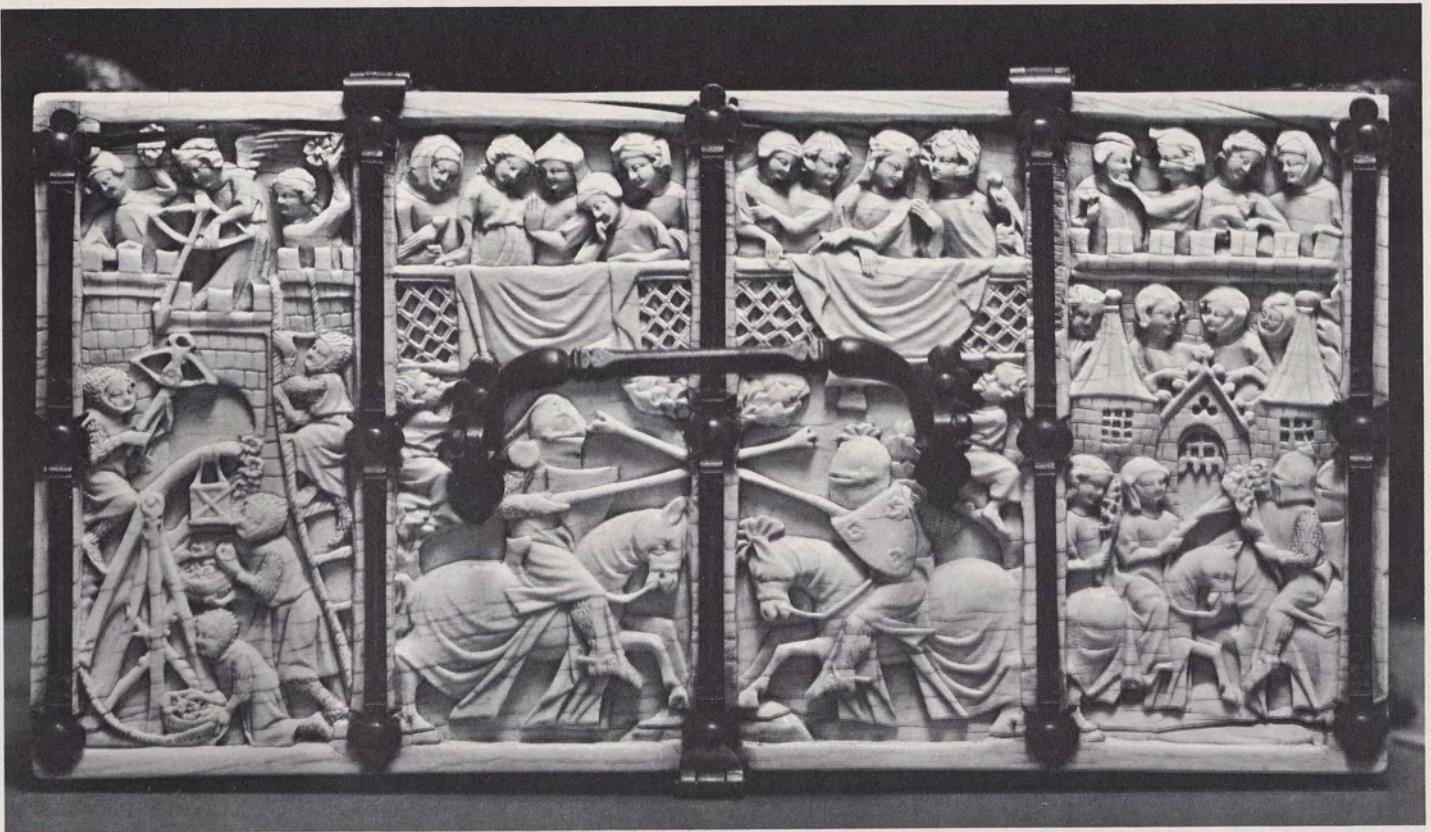
The left end of the Casket shows two more subjects, one from the story of Tristan and Iseult depicting the wife of

¹ The four sides of the Walters Casket are illustrated in full by Raymond Koechlin, in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, LXI (1911), 398–399, figs. 22–26; for the group of seven caskets see Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), vol. I, chapter v; vol. II, nos. 1281–1287. See also A. McLaren Young, "A French Medieval Ivory Casket at the Barber Institute of Fine Arts," *Connoisseur*, CXIX (September 1947), 16–21, the basis of the present discussion.

King Mark meeting with her lover, Iseult, while the King observes from a tree above, yet is revealed by his reflection in the pool below. Forewarned, the lovers deceive the jealous king in harmless conversation. This allegory on the plight of a duped husband in the face of infidelity is probably derived from the poem version of the story by Béroul. The adjacent scene, however, appropriately dominates the plaque and represents moral purity in the figure of a virgin who traps a unicorn in her lap so that the hunter might bring him down.

The right end may illustrate a scene with Galahad, and the rear relief incorporates other episodes from the Arthurian chronicle, probably as recorded in the poems of Chrétien de Troyes. This author's *Perceval* relates the stories of Gawain which are indicated in three of the sections—the first showing the assault of bolts, arrows, and a lion against Gawain, the second with Gawain in triumph over the lion, and the third with Gawain receiving his reward, a beautiful maiden who welcomes him with her attendants. The fourth episode is that of Lancelot crossing the bridge of a single board en route to free Guinevere also as related by Chrétien de Troyes.

The Walters Casket is typical of the others in the group. All of the scenes make a play on the theme of courtly, youthful love and therefore are not a mere jumble of subjects as one might first suppose. As an elaborate visual exegesis on the subject based on contemporary secular literary themes, these caskets implied a high level of culture on the part of their owners necessary for their fullest understanding. With the literary keys in hand, we can today more fully appreciate their animated imagery.



Champagne, mid-14th century

V 21, 22 *Annunciation Group.* Marble, with traces of paint and gilding.

Provenance: Church at Javernant (Aube). *Virgin.* H. 27-1/8,
W. 7-7/8 inches. Paris, Musée du Louvre. *Angel.* H. 22-1/4, W. 11-1/4,
D. 4-1/8 inches. Inscription on banderole: AVE MARIA, GRATIA PLENA.
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 54.387.

This elegant sculptural group, separated for more than sixty years, came from the Church at Javernant and probably was carved by a sculptor of the region in the middle of the fourteenth century. It represents a culmination of the courtly style begun by the master of the angels who produced sculptures for Reims Cathedral, also in the same general region in the third quarter of the thirteenth century (see cat. no. v-9). The exhibited figures, while technically sculptures in the round, since they are fully carved on the back, are actually to be considered relief sculptures because they have little mass or volume (the angel is only 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches thick). The intent of the sculptor was to present a courtly, elegant relief rendition of the subject meant to be seen primarily from the front. The use of marble reflects the generally increased vogue of this material in the fourteenth century in connection with sacred images (see cat. no. v-23) and also for tomb sculptures, the most splendid sequence being at Saint-Denis.

While having a parallel in contemporary Italian works, as for example in the paintings of Simone Martini (1284?–1344), the elegance and sophistication of this present composition is specifically French in the rippling and undulating

folds, the curvilinear drapery edges, the tightly curled hair, the puffy eyes, and mannered gesture. The refinement of the best French fourteenth-century ivory reliefs is here heightened and made more elegant. Both figures retain significant amounts of the former polychromy. The Angel is especially well preserved in this respect. In the gilding of the drapery edges and wings with added color, we can receive a very good impression of the original concept of coloristic restraint intended for the group.

Raymond Koehlin compared the Virgin with the Virgin and Child group at Auxon (Aube), and while they both may be seen to follow in the same local tradition, the Louvre figure goes far beyond the Auxon group in refined elegance. Michèle Beaulieu suggested that the well-known ivory Annunciation group in the Museum at Langres dating from the fifteenth century (or later) may be in fact a copy of the present reassembled group.

The two figures were probably separated shortly before the Exposition rétrospective de l'art français in 1900, possibly because of their different states of preservation.



The Virgin faces frontally, her head tipped in reverie. She sways slightly to one side, her weight borne chiefly over her left foot, the toe of which is barely suggested. Her free right foot rests to one side overhanging the thin ground on which the figure stands. The mantle is pulled across at the front like an apron revealing, above and below the bodice and belt, the long smooth folds which break at the ground and over the feet. At the sides, the mantle is pulled tight around each lower arm, falling from this point in elegant, curvilinear cascades which bracket the figure. The Christ Child, half nude, sits in the crook of the Virgin's left arm. He is conceived as almost part of the same mass as the larger figure even though he reaches toward the bird which the Virgin holds in her right hand. The latter motif, a common one in the fourteenth century, refers to an episode during the flight into Egypt according to the Gospel of the pseudo-Matthew, chapter 27. As a whole, the sculpture is one of simple charm and elegance without mannerism. Part of its appeal derives from the beauty of the material itself, a finely polished white marble.

The Madonna and Child constitutes one of the most frequent subjects for free-standing sculpture in fourteenth-century France. Louise Lefrançois-Pillion has acknowledged the existence of five or six hundred examples in various materials, and she suspects that there are many more to be considered which so far are unrecorded—in country churches, provincial museums, and private collections in France alone, not to mention those works which have migrated to public and private collections outside of France.¹ Methodical study of this material is still in a preliminary stage, although important contributions have helped clarify significant aspects of stylistic development, localization, and dating.² The number of free-

¹ Louise Lefrançois-Pillion, "Les statues de la Vierge à l'Enfant dans la sculpture française au XIV^e siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6 Per., xiv (1935), 129–149, 204–226. This article forms the principal basis for the present discussion.

² See also Johanna Heinrich, *Die Entwicklung der Madonnenstatue in der Skulptur Nordfrankreichs von 1250 bis 1350* (Leipzig, 1933). William H. Forsyth, "Medieval Statues of the

standing sculptures of this subject increased significantly in the fourteenth century. The roots for this development may be seen in the much admired trumeau figures of the Virgin of the previous century. The motivation for the increase may be found in the developing cult of the Virgin. The diffusion of types and styles, generally regardless of material (lime-stone, marble, alabaster, or wood), resulted both from the increasing mobility of the sculptors as well as their works and from the widespread distribution of small statuettes in ivory and metal which in turn may have served as models. Being votive or cult sculptures, Madonnas were not restricted to churches but were intended also for crossroads, entrances to towns, and domestic use in private oratories and communion rooms. They were presented to churches at the command of nobility and royalty, the well-known donation of a silver-gilt Virgin to the Abbey of Saint-Denis in 1339 by Jeanne d'Evreux, widow of Charles IV, being an example. Madonna and Child sculptures were also made on order for members of the bourgeois merchant class, as witnessed by the inscription noticed by Mme. Lefrançois-Pillion on the base for the Madonna at Lesche (Seine-et-Marne) which was given in 1370 for devotional purposes to the church by a certain "Plantefolie Belon, Couturière à Lesche."

Naturally, studies of this vast subject begin with documented and localized works whose dates of execution or of donation are occasionally recorded, as on the base of the Madonna at Lesche. Without going into the details of published (Continued on page 370)

Virgin in Lorraine Related in Type to the Saint-Dié Virgin," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, v (1936), 235–258. Claude Schaefer, *La sculpture en ronde-bosse au XIV^e siècle dans le duché de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1954). Forsyth, "The Virgin and Child in French Fourteenth Century Sculpture, a Method of Classification," *Art Bulletin*, xxxix (September 1957), 171–182. J. A. Schmollgen. Eisenwerth, "Lothringische Madonnen-Statuetten des 14 Jh.," *Festschrift Friedrich Gerke* (Baden-Baden, 1962), pp. 119–148. M. L. Méras, "La Vierge aux Colombe de Monpezet et la sculpture Toulousaine," *La Revue des Arts*, ix (1959), 57–60.

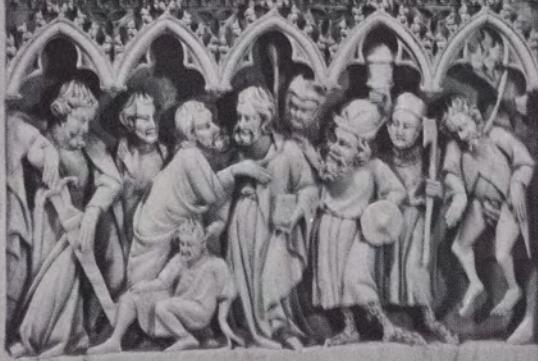
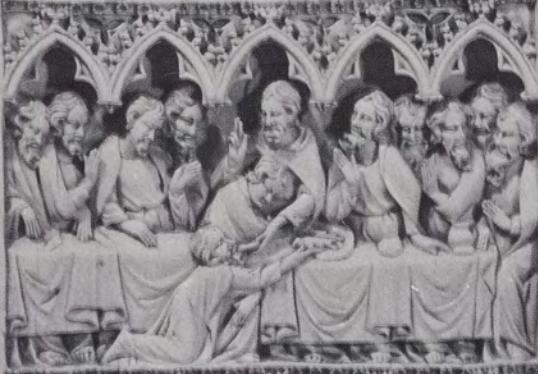


Ile-de-France, Paris,
ca.1350–1380.

V 24

Passion Diptych. Ivory, H. 10-3/8, W. 9-3/4 inches. The Toledo
Museum of Art, 50.300

One of an original group of ten large ivory diptychs with scenes of the Passion, the Toledo loan represents a level of quality characteristic of the best of the remaining nine. Within its successive arcaded registers is depicted an eloquent sequence of episodes, each of which is simplified and made dramatic so that their identification is made easy even to the most illiterate modern observer. All the elements of a medieval Passion play are here: triumph, confusion, betrayal, humility, prayer, agony, pathos, and prophesy. While the individual figures have a certain sameness in their physiognomies, the compositional groups and gestures reflect the pictorial traditions which earlier found embodiment and enrichment in Pucelle's Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (cat. no. v-15). This expressive tradition continued in various forms throughout the fourteenth century. At times it reached especially realistic and expressive fervor as evidenced by the imagery of Jean Bondol in the Hague Bible dated 1371 which finds close parallels in some of the smaller miniatures in the Gotha Missal (cat. no. vi-3).



CHAPTER SIX

International Style

1350–1364

VI 1 *Mouton d'or, Jean le Bon.* Gold, Diam. 1-3/16 inches. *Obv.:* AGN. DEI.
QVI. TOLL. PECA. MVDI. MISERERE. NOB [and] IOH. REX. *Rev.:* XPC.
VINCIT. XPC. REGNAT. XPL. IMPERAT. The Cleveland Museum of Art, The
Norweb Collection, 64.372.

Anglo-Gallic, 1360

VI 2 *Leopard d'or, Edward III.* Gold, Diam. 1-5/16 inches. *Obv.:*
EDVVARDVS : DEI : GRA : ANGLI : FRANCIE : REX. *Rev.:* XPC. : VINCIT :
XPC : REGNAT : XPC : IMPERA. The Cleveland Museum of Art, The Norweb
Collection, 64.373.

Jean le Bon (Jean II) was captured by Edward, the Black Prince, at Poitiers in 1356 and taken to England to await ransom. Jean's son, Charles v, acted as regent during this interim. His host in England was Edward III, who had made a claim on the French crown in 1328 involving England and France in the Hundred Years' War. The royal prisoner was treated as a royal guest, supplied with luxuries and invited to tournaments. The Treaty of Bretigny in 1360 fixed 3,000,000 crowns as his ransom. Returning to France, he married his daughter to a Visconti for a gift of 600,000 golden crowns, and he also imposed various heavy taxes in an effort to pay the ransom. He issued the gold *franc à cheval*, the first coin of its name, in great numbers for the same purpose. Unable to complete the payment, he returned to England in January 1364 where he again became a royal captive, dying in April of the same year.

The two gold coins from the Norweb collection might be viewed as symbolic of these events, the one being an issue of the French king and the other being an Anglo-Gallic issue of the English king and pretender to the French crown, Edward III.¹ Beginning with Louis IX, the French kings had attempted to establish the pre-eminence of their coinage over the feudal

¹ I am indebted to George C. Miles, Chief Curator of the American Numismatic Society who transcribed the inscriptions. The remainder of this discussion is based on Joseph Fattorusso, *Kings and Queens of England and of France* (Florence, 1953), p. 97, and John Porteous, *Coins* (New York, 1964), pp. 68–71.

coinage then in wide use. While Philip IV lost the good name of the royal coinage by tampering with its alloy—he was called *le roi faux monnayer*—he was successful in establishing a gold coinage where Louis IX, his grandfather, had failed. The present gold Mouton d'or of Jean le Bon continues in this tradition, and like so many Gothic gold coins what it lacks in subtlety of modeling it makes up in two-dimensional pattern which gives a very rich effect.

Proportion and line become all important in both coins. The Mouton d'or's reverse bears a floriate cross in tressure with a rose in the center and *fleur-de-lis* in the four quadrants surrounded by the inscription. This striking image vies in appeal with the obverse, which has a handsomely patterned and silhouetted paschal lamb, holding another floriate cross, and framed with a near-circle of single arches and the inscription which reads: "Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world, have mercy on us." Jean's name is given below the feet of the lamb: IOH REX. The Leopard d'or issued for Edward III is very similar at first glance except for the substitution of the crowned leopard passant left, the double arches of the frame, and the difference of the inscription which states the English sovereign's aspirations only too clearly. With closer examination, many subtle distinctions are apparent, as for example on the reverse where the floriate cross in tressure with a rose in the center is completed with leopards passant left in each of the four quadrants.



Paris, ca.1375,
by Jean Bondol and his atelier

VI 3 *Missal*, in Latin, for Paris use. Vellum, 164 leaves, H. 10-11/16,
W. 7-11/16 inches. Including leaves added in the 15th century and
two miniatures attributed to the Bedford Master, ca.1410. The Cleveland
Museum of Art, Mr. and Mrs. William H. Marlatt Fund, 62.287.

This sumptuous manuscript, frequently called the "Gotha Missal," may have been commissioned by one of the great fourteenth-century royal bibliophiles. Internal evidence fully discussed in the bibliography, especially the study based on the findings of Harry Bober and also the extensive publication in the Cleveland Museum of Art *Bulletin*, suggests that it may have been intended for the private chapel of the Valois king, Charles v of France (d. 1380).¹ Charles was a great lover of fine books; he is a prime exhibit of what Erwin Panofsky referred to as "the emergence of a wealthy and cultured lay society with its concomitants of passionate collecting and 'pride of ownership,'" and "demand for sumptuously illustrated books."

The style and quality of the miniatures in the Gotha Missal shed considerable light on the high place it holds within a large group of manuscripts produced for Charles and within the more select group of manuscripts accepted today as from the hand of the Netherlandish artist, Jean de Bruges, called Jean Bondol, the head of the king's own manuscript atelier and also his *valet de chambre*. Stylistically the miniatures in the Gotha Missal may be divided into two groups of twelve and eleven miniatures each, even though Bondol may have made the preliminary and underlying sketches for them all. The first and finest group of twelve miniatures is characterized by an extremely subtle modeling of the figures, their draperies and facial features. This is done primarily in terms of light and dark with occasional accents of color in the shading of the faces. This modeling establishes each figure as a convincing mass within a suggested ambient space. Such plasticity and painterliness becomes weaker and turns to elegant, yet more obvious linear means in the second group of miniatures.

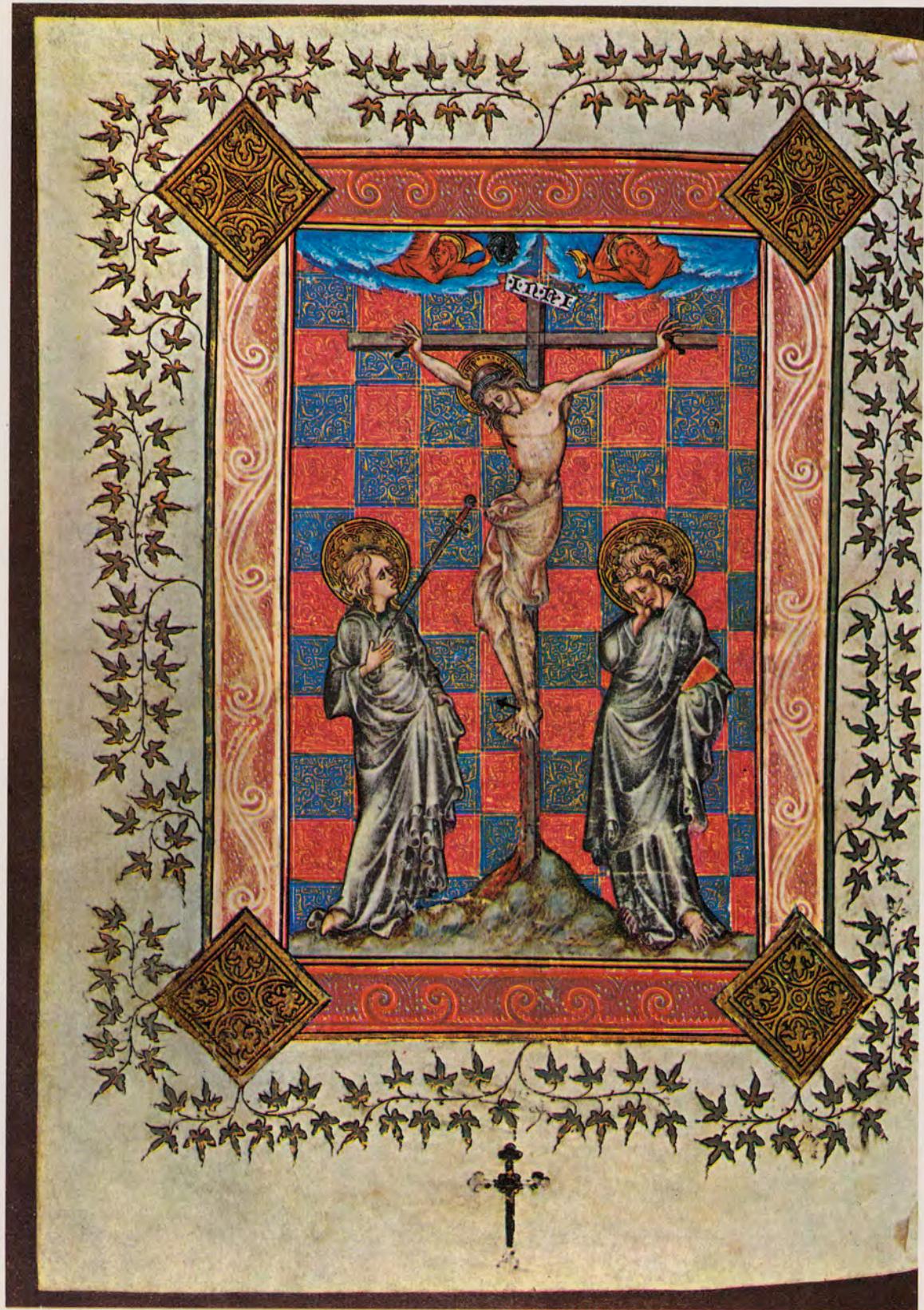
¹ Catalogue 100 (New York: H. P. Kraus, 1962), pp. 32-39 (based on the research of Harry Bober), pls. xxiv-xxvii and four color illustrations on pp. 33, 36-38. All miniatures and the contents are discussed in detail in William D. Wixom, "A Missal for a King," *CMA Bulletin*, I (September 1963), 158-173, 186-187, repr. three in color.

Panofsky's description of Bondol's miniatures in a Bible in The Hague could be applied to the finest group of miniatures in the Gotha Missal: "Figures and objects are rendered with a broad, fluid brush, a . . . pictorial tendency . . . evident throughout. Strong local colors that would tend to separate one area from the other are suppressed in favor of subdued tonality, and the interest is focused not only on the plastic form, but also on the surface texture of things: on the specific tactile qualities of wool or fleecy animals' coats as opposed to flesh, of wood or stone as opposed to metal."²

There are no buildings in the Gotha Missal as there are in The Hague Bible, yet space is suggested by foreshortened pieces of furniture or hints of a receding ground plane. There is a sense of limited reality, a convincingness—what Panofsky calls a "honest straightforward veracity" to Biblical events staged in an environment with such details as casually hung altarcloths, crumpled pillows, seats, thrones, lecterns, altars, chalices, grassy turf, and clumpy trees. All elements are depicted in an appealing pictorial manner and with a sense of visual delight in nuances of shading and color, tight but convincing space arrangements, fluid draperies, expressive faces and subtle contrasts between figures in action and those whose movement has been arrested.

The debt which Bondol and his atelier of gifted miniaturists owe to Jean Pucelle is considerable. Pucelle, as in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, made pioneering contributions in his use of grisaille, plastic drapery, stage-like space settings, and psychological observation (see cat. no. v-15). Bondol learned and utilized a great deal from Pucelle. In fact, his style must be understood in part against the Pucelle tradition. However, Bondol changes and alters this inheritance to fit his own aims, especially in the direction of greater vigor and increased observation of nature, including its rustic aspects. Bondol even takes plastic modeling a step further in more consistently including the whole figure. He abandons Pu- (Continued on page 371)

² Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), I, 36.



Paris, ca.1375

VI 4 *Miter.* Silk with painting in grisaille, H. 13-3/4 (including lappets: 36-1/2), W. 8-7/8 inches. Paris, Musée National des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny.

Like the famous Altarcloth of Narbonne in the Louvre, this Miter is made of white silk and is painted in grisaille. The technique of painting in shades of blacks and grays has already been observed in two manuscripts—the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux painted by Jean Pucelle and the Gotha Missal with miniatures by Jean Bondol and his workshop (see cat. nos. v-15, vi-3).

The Miter shows ornate cusped arches with crocketed gables framing two large scenes on either side depicting the Entombment and the Resurrection. Below and beneath a smaller sequence of arches of similar character are busts representing the twelve apostles. The Virgin and Child and a donor appear on the lappets which hang below. Molly Teasdale Smith informs us that another miter, similar to the present one, is listed in the inventory of 1404 for Philippe le Hardi along with the daily *chapelles: une autre mittre de satin blanc, paincturés de noir à ymages.*¹ In this context the exhibited work must be considered with a whole group of altar furnishings painted in grisaille, known from the inventories and discussed by Mrs. Smith. These were probably all intended as chapel adornments for daily Lenten use, as suggested by a reference in the inventory of Charles v in 1379 which states: *Chapelles pour caresme cothidIANES blanches.*

The authorship of the Altarcloth of Narbonne, once attributed to Jean d'Orléans, is now simply given to an unknown Paris artist. This hand is especially close to that of the Miter, although the scale and finish of the work is drastically reduced in the Miter. Both works can be dated in the middle

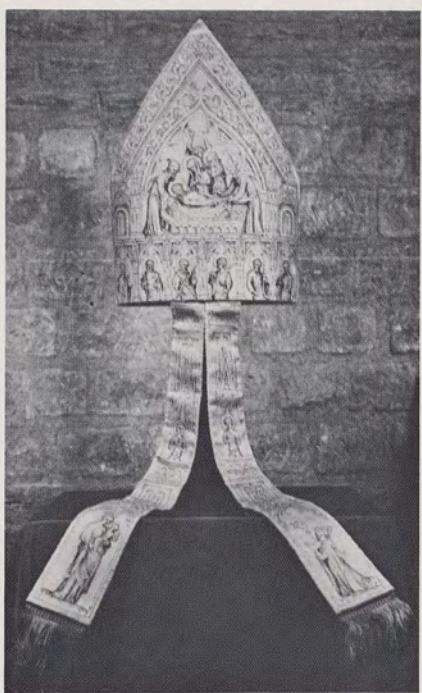
¹ Molly Teasdale Smith, "The Use of Grisaille as a Lenten Observance," *Marsyas*, VIII (1959), 45, n. 7.

of the 1370's during the reign of Charles v, who is depicted kneeling with his wife on either side of the Crucifixion in the larger work. Of the several hands probably reflected in the Gotha Missal, the hand responsible for the refined style of the canon frontispieces of the Crucifixion and Christ in Majesty is closest to the one or two hands represented in the two painted silks.

The heritage of the emotion-filled Entombment-Lamentation scene on both the Altarcloth and the Miter goes back to Pucelle's Ducciesque Lamentation in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (cat. no. v-15). It may be seen to continue and change in the Petites Heures of John, Duke of Berry, painted circa 1390; it also appears in the tiny miniature by the Egerton Master in the Hours of Charles the Noble (cat. no. vi-25).²

Similarly, the Resurrection scene on the Miter depends on Pucelle, although without his emotional intensity, as in the miniature of the Cloisters manuscript. A contemporary parallel to the Miter can be noted in Jean Bondol's miniature in the Gotha Missal, which is a true heir to the psychological interests of Pucelle. Bondol's Christ has an inner compulsion and near anxiety as he stealthily steps out of the tomb and into the darkness. The artist of the Miter, while more objective and without emotional involvement, emphasizes instead the symmetry of the scene and imbues it with a certain elegance.

² See Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 23-24, 44, fig. 34. William D. Wixom, "The Hours of Charles the Noble," *CMA Bulletin*, LII (March 1965), 79, figs. 45 and 46.



Languedoc, 2nd half 14th century

VI 5 *Missal*, in Latin, for Rome use. Vellum, 402 leaves, H. 15-1/4,
W. 10-5/8 inches. Cambrai (Nord), Bibliothèque
municipale, MS. 150.

When discussing the possible background of the Rohan Master (cat. no. vi-33), the late Jean Porcher suggested looking at earlier miniatures whose style might be comparable in emotional intensity and vivid color. Porcher mentioned the Crucifixion miniature of the present Missal in this context.¹

However, the writing, the enframing borders, and the leaf-work were the only elements in this manuscript which Porcher felt were certainly French in style. The two magnificent Canon frontispieces—the one with the Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John and angels, and the other with Christ in Majesty with the Evangelist symbols, together with the fourteen historiated initials—were for Porcher the work of a Catalan artist established in the south of France.² He compared the present miniatures with those in the *Pontifical de Pierre de La Jugie* in the cathedral at Narbonne. Both manuscripts were for him at once French and Catalan. A replica of the Crucifixion miniature in another Missal, now in the Archives of the Aragonese Crown at Barcelona, was for Porcher a confirmation of the Languedocian origin of the present manuscript. According to Dorothy Miner, Porcher more recently grouped this manuscript with several others which he assigned to Avignon. One of these, the Spencer Officium, is discussed on page 246 (cat. no. vi-6).³

While this splendid Missal contains an escutcheon, *de gueules à bande d'argent*, above a cardinal's hat at the bottom of the *incipit* page of the text following the calendar, the

original ownership has not yet been determined. The calendar is a Roman one and the text, as described by Abbé V. Leroquais, appears to contain nothing particularly unusual.⁴ The color ensemble, from Leroquais' descriptions, appears to be especially striking. The angels in violent anguished movement beyond the crucifix are set against a cameo blue. Two of these angels catch the red blood spurting from the sagging body of Christ hanging on the cross. Leroquais also tells us that the colors used in the frames for the initials are gold, carmine, vermillion, and azure.

The confrontation of this manuscript with the Rohan Hours will undoubtedly bear out Porcher's first comparison. It will also provide an opportunity to study Catalan-Languedoc color relationships and to see these in conjunction with the Spencer Officium in consideration of an Avignon localization (cat. no. vi-6). While of a different scale and format, the miniatures of the two southern works may indeed reflect the color and compositional preference of a single itinerate workshop. The recent article by Robert Mesuret on panel painting in Languedoc brings to mind the need for the study of the color in such manuscript paintings in this larger but still regional context. Also, the modeling of flesh, as in the Missal's Christ, might be seen for its contrasts and similarities with the more Italianate cross, painted on both faces, from the choir screen given by Cardinal Godin in 1385 to the Dominican Church of the Jacobins at Toulouse.⁵

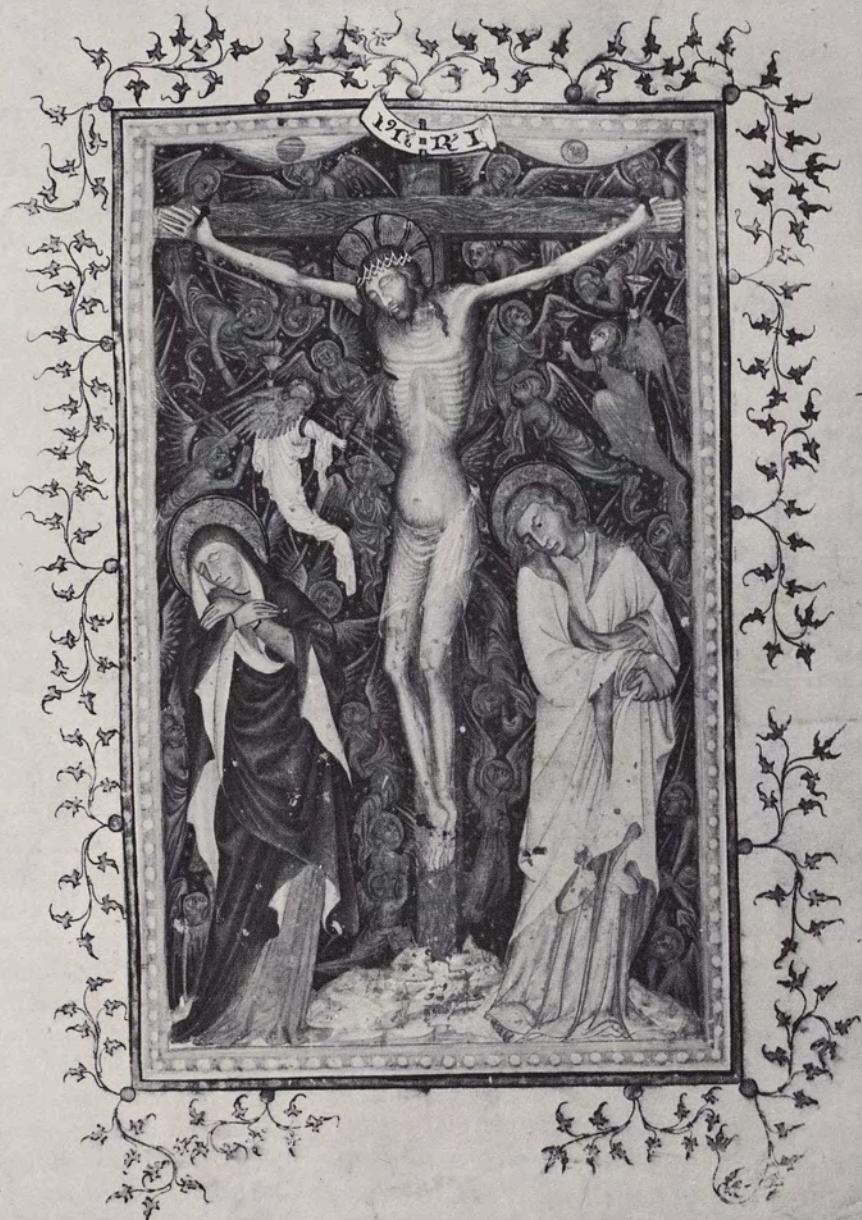
¹ Jean Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures* (New York, 1959), p. 70, fig. 77.

² *Les manuscrits à peintures en France du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1955), p. 67, no. 141.

³ *The International Style* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1962), p. 67.

⁴ Abbé V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits*, (Paris, 1924), II, 318, no. 491.

⁵ Robert Mesuret, "Les primitifs du Languedoc," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6 Per., LXV (1965), 2, 6 (no. 19, fig. 5), 30. See Joan Evans, *Art in Medieval France, 987-1498* (London, 1952), pl. 127.



Southern France,
possibly Avignon,
last quarter 14th century

VI 6 *Hours*, in Latin. Vellum, 2 volumes, 132 and 146 leaves, H. 4-1/2,
W. 3-1/2 inches. The New York Public Library, Spencer
Collection, MS. 49.

Avignon, the capital of the Popes from 1305–1378, drew to it many Italian artists, and as a result this center was a bastion of Italian artistic influence in France, both stylistically and iconographically. However, for Italy, Avignon became a gateway of French influence in Italy. The real mingling of these traditions and others in the field of painting did not seem to take place at Avignon, where they existed only concurrently, but rather the creative use of traditions from abroad seemed to find fruition at the courts in the north—at Paris, Dijon, and in Berry—or in Italy, particularly those in northern Italy under the aegis of the Visconti. Thus, when a group of manuscripts is assigned to Avignon, our interest may be all the greater in seeing actual representatives of painting in the temporary Papal court.

One of these manuscripts, the present Book of Hours, should really be called an *Officium beate Marie virginis*, after the *incipit* given on folio 22 in the first volume. This work, in two volumes, contains twelve calendar miniatures, nine full-page miniatures, and one hundred and twenty-eight historiated initials. Seven spot checks reveal that the work is for Rome use, as are many Hours in the south of France. The first volume contains principally the calendar and Officium of the Virgin. While it has not been possible to determine exactly all of the contents in time for this discussion, it seems that the remaining text includes chiefly the Offices of the Cross, of Saint Catherine, of the Holy Spirit, and of the Dead, as well as presently unidentified prayers and the Seven Penitential Psalms and Litany. These offices are all in the second volume. The first two of them contain a number of historiated initials, as does the Office of the Virgin. Portraits of the original owner(s) appear in two of the initials as well as in the large miniature reproduced (II, folios 18 and 138 verso). The calendar miniatures are unusually large for so small an Hours. (They measure 2 by 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches.) They follow the usual subjects with individual interpretations. Especially fine are the miniatures for April, May, and November. The April miniature depicts two fashionably dressed ladies conversing with a seated and even more splendidly garbed courtier who holds up a wreath. The setting is in a blooming garden, al-

though part of the background is a delicate rinceau of gold against an olive green. The May miniature shows a handsome equestrian falconer prancing across a grassy field before a wood behind which the rinceaux of gold repeat, this time against an earthy red ground. The November miniature illustrates peasants beating down acorns for their hogs at the edge of a forest. A highly burnished sheet of gold is the background for this scene. This background is enriched by a lightly pricked rinceau pattern, a minute variation of that found in certain panel paintings, as for example in the panel by Beau-metz (cat. no. VI-12). The two types of backgrounds, the gold rinceaux over a colored ground and that of burnished gold with pricked rinceaux, are the principal ones used in both miniatures and historiated initials throughout the two volumes. The chief exceptions are the tesselated backgrounds of gold, red, and blue with white and black lines for accents which appear in the calendar and in several of the larger miniatures.

These full-page miniatures appear mostly in pairs and there is no text on the reverse, a common and reasonable feature due to the semi-transparency of the vellum. It is not certain whether the large miniatures were part of the original program of the work or whether they were an afterthought added to the manuscript to make it more luxurious. The two subjects in the historiated initials which repeat in the large miniatures would recommend the second possibility. These are the subjects of the Annunciation and the Betrayal of Christ (I, folios 20, 23 verso; II, folios 2, 4). In any case, it is certain that the same hand was responsible for all of the figural painting in both volumes, including the calendar, the initials, and the series of larger miniatures.

The larger miniatures are the most immediately appealing feature of the entire work. The facing miniatures of the Annunciation and Enthroned Virgin and Child with a kneeling former lady-owner shown opposite (I, folios 20 verso, 21) are much finer and far more striking than reproductions can allow because of their dramatic color relationships. The An-(Continued on page 372)



Languedoc, Toulouse, ca.1400

VI 7

Saint Christopher and the Christ Child. Silver, gilt silver, H. 23-5/8,
W. 11-3/4 inches. Provenance: Said to have come from a church at
Castelnau-d'Endre near Toulouse. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of
Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.361.

Saint Christopher with curly hair and beard and dressed in a short tunic and mantle bends under the weight of the Christ Child who stands at his shoulder. The Child's hair is also tightly curled. He is dressed in a long tunic and blesses the Saint with his left hand while supporting the orb and cross in his right. The Saint leans on his staff, which has small sprouts at the end, and lifts one foot forward through the swirling water inhabited by engraved fish represented on the base. The remainder of the hexagonal base is in a pseudo-architectural form with decorative flying buttresses punctuating the corners. By their small size, these buttresses accentuate the inferred giantism of the group above. The box at the front was for relics.

All of the elements of the Saint Christopher story are embodied in this silver sculpture including the palm tree staff with its sprouts—a reference to Christ's promise that his staff when planted would bear flowers and fruit. The subject of Saint Christopher, who discovered that he was carrying the Christ Child, was especially popular in the fifteenth century. The earliest dated woodcut print (1423) is of this subject.

The present sculpture is an exceedingly rare, if not unique, large metalwork example of this subject. It bears the Tou-

louse mark, TOL, *fleur-de-lis* above in reserve, an S shape, another mark of indistinct shape, probably IC or PO with a heart between. The sculpture is executed in five parts: the socle, the flood, the Saint, the Christ Child, and the staff. A nineteenth-century replica is preserved in the church at Lasbordes (Aude). The marks on it, a lion passant, indicate that it was made in London.

It is tempting to consider the original work shown here as a continuation of a Toulouse tradition of sculpture first seen in the monumental apostles executed between 1321 and 1348 at the behest of Jean Tissendier for his sepulchral chapel in the church of the Cordeliers at Toulouse. The treatment of the large head with its full beard and curly hair as well as the drapery is very similar to some of these figures. Visitors to the exhibition might compare Saint Christopher's head with the Head of an Apostle, which is very close to this Toulouse series (cat. no. v-11). The peculiar strength of all of these sculptures sets them aside from the more courtly, elegant style which dominates so many works from Champagne and the Ile-de-France (see cat. nos. v-21, 22, 23). The angular movement of the Saint Christopher has a parallel in the figural movement of some of the historiated initials in the Avignon Hours and the Languedocian Missal (cat. nos. vi-5, 6).



Central Loire Valley,
ca.1385–1390

VI 8 *Madonna and Child*. Limestone, with traces of paint, H. 53 inches.
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade
Fund, 62.28.

Tall in proportion and inclining gently to one side, this limestone Madonna and Child, for all its simplicity, is of monumental elegance and compares with distinction to many of the finest works of this subject and size from late fourteenth-century France. Smoothly swelling and concave drapery folds, with restrained yet appealing curvilinear edges, envelope the mass of this gracious Madonna, whose weight is borne over her left foot, her right foot resting off to the side of a pillow-like socle. Her features are distinct and express a noble or courtly character; a high forehead, arched brows, straight and narrow nose, smooth and full cheeks, and thin lips placed low over a firm but small chin. These features are framed by her wavy hair, clearly cut in long parallel lines hanging over her shoulders and down her back. The features of the Child are similar although adapted to a more youthful subject and expressive of a bright, doll-like character, in contrast to the benign nobility of the Madonna. The hair of the Child is also in obvious contrast with that of the Madonna; it is composed of tightly opposing curls above the sides of the head instead of the long tresses of the larger figure. Both the Madonna and the Child may have originally had crowns of wood or metal, as allowance was made for them by the flatter and more uniform treatment of the waves of the hair over the top of each head, a feature which may be seen in other French Madonnas.

While evidence suggests that the Madonna's mantle was originally a light blue with an inner lining of greenish blue and a red undergarment, it is conceivable that the sculpture may have been originally white except for the flesh tones and gold leaf in the hair, traces of which still remain. If the Madonna's mantle had been originally white, it may have had the added decoration of a gold border and a scattered flower motif, possibly in imitation of marble sculptures, which today retain this type of decoration.

Like the earlier and smaller Virgin from the Cottreau collection (cat. no. v-23), the present, more monumental work must also be considered against the background of the development of this subject in the fourteenth century in both the Ile-de-France and in the outlying provinces. The characteristic style of Madonnas produced in Paris circa 1340–1350 is clearly reflected in the iconography and style of the present figure. However, the fullness of form and elegant naturalism of the latter's drapery style suggest a later dating—i.e., sometime in the second half of the fourteenth century. This tends to be corroborated by the combined features of the Madonna's enveloping mantle, which negates the need for depicting a girdle, the intricate folds of the gown about her waist, and the half-nude Christ Child, who in the absence of a tunic, is wrapped loosely in a swaddling cloth. Individual iconographic features such as the fragmentary flower-stalk scepter held in the Madonna's right hand or the bird held by the Christ Child are too popular and widespread to offer suggestions which might help in dating or localization.

Comparison of three Madonnas in the central Loire Valley at Lorris (Loiret), formerly at la-Cour-Dieu (Loiret), and at Monceaux-le Comte (Nièvre), demonstrates certain regional features which also are evident in the Cleveland sculpture, admitting an attribution of it to the same general area. Considered in relation to the successive sculptures attributed to André Beauneveu, this regional style appears to be a natural outgrowth of this great Franco-Netherlandish sculptor's style. This influence must have been felt in Berry and in the central Loire area as a result of Beauneveu's work for John, Duke of Berry.¹

¹ See for illustrations of the comparative works as well as a fuller discussion with documentation, William D. Wixom, "A Fourteenth Century Madonna and Child," *CMA Bulletin*, L (January 1963), 14–22.



Made before 1405 for the chapel of the palace of John, Duke of Berry, in Bourges which was destroyed in the eighteenth century, the series of stained-glass panels were incoherently installed in the nineteenth century in the windows of the crypt of the cathedral. The windows have since been removed and restored by M. Chigot, who has also reassembled them as best possible in their original order. The present ensemble is composed of four vertical sequences of three panels each. Each of the original windows was much higher, by two and a half panels which continued the Gothic architectural canopies with gables ornamented with crockets, finials, and tracery work. The four vertical ensembles shown here come from two separate windows. The outer sequences, showing Isaiah at the left and Micah at the right, belong in similar positions to another window. The two central figures with their canopies probably belonged together.

The iconographic program of the Duke of Berry's chapel windows was that of the apostolic *Credo*, particularly dear to him. The windows therefore presented the dialogue between the prophets and the apostles, a subject which Emile Mâle has beautifully discussed.¹ The theme was repeated again and again in the Duke's commissions in his Grandes Heures (Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 919) or in the stone Prophets which stood in the same chapel as these windows. Like the sculptures, the stained-glass prophets hold banderoles. In the present series of prophets, the banderoles are painted with inscriptions from the prophesies of the prophets depicted. For example, David presents Psalm 31:11.

The apostles not shown give a corresponding passage of the *Credo*. The prophets are clearly discernible in the larger sequence by their turbans and hooded mantles. The apostles are bareheaded as well as barefooted.

The style of the windows of the Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges is also that of several windows in the cathedral, as in the

¹ Emile Mâle, *Art religieux de la fin du moyen-âge en France* (Paris, 1922), pp. 249–251.

Pierre Troussseau and Simon Aligret chapels. The designs for the figures in the Duke's windows, like the stone prophets for the same ensemble, have been attributed many times to André Beauneveu, native of Valenciennes, and to Jean de Cambrai, both sculptors called to Bourges in the service of the Duke. The basis of the attribution of window designs to Beauneveu is this artist's miniature portraits of prophets in the Psalter completed for the Duke shortly before 1385 (Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 13091). Of the four figures in the exhibited windows, the two center ones showing David and Daniel, approach most closely Beauneveu's miniatures as well as several of the limestone prophets attributed to him, especially the Ezekiel sculpture which can be dated just after the miniatures. Jean Froissart, referring to the year 1393, in his *Chronicle* tells us that the Duke of Berry gave "orders for sculptures and paintings to the Master André Beauneveu, who was well qualified because no one was superior to him and no one was equal in any land; nor is their any master by whom there remain so many good works in France or in Hainaut, where he was born, or in the Kingdom of England."² In relation to the Cleveland limestone Madonna (cat. no. VI-8), we noted the influence of Beauneveu, and it may be rewarding to compare the elegant, fluid drapery of the Madonna sculpture with the similar feature in the David window in particular.

In any case, the windows and indeed the entire chapel were part of many artistic commissions which the art-conscious Duke instigated. His chapel, with his tomb much like those at Dijon (see cat. no. VI-21), must have been a rich and noble feast of color, line, and form. The Duke's tomb figure, now in the crypt of the cathedral, once looked up at the assembled references to the prophesies of the prophets and the apostolic *Credo* embodied in stained glass and in the carved stone.

² English translation quoted from James J. Rorimer and Margaret B. Freeman, "The Nine Heroes Tapestries at the Cloisters," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, VII (May 1949), 258.



Paris, end of 14th century

VI 10 *Two Kneeling Carthusian Monks.* Marble, 66.112: H. 10-1/8, W. 5-1/4 inches; 66.113: H. 9-1/2, W. 5-1/16 inches. Provenance: Chartreuse de Paris (?). The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 66.112, 66.113.

Two Kneeling Monks, hands in an attitude of prayer, look upward to some now-lost object of veneration. The original context of these two relief sculptures, both flat on the back, must have been a devotional one and not clearly a funerary one as in the case of the free-standing marble mourners made nearly a generation later for the tomb of Philip the Bold at the Chartreuse de Champmol near Dijon (cat. no. vi-21). The kneeling figures represent monks of the Carthusian order, for they are shown wearing the *scapulaire* of that order with its two panels connected by a band at the sides.

The Kneeling Monks are less monumental and massive than the Champmol mourners, and emphasize instead a lyricism in the soft modeling of the draperies, especially evident in the folds falling about the legs and feet. They reflect the stylistic features of the elegant art of Paris in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. They are to be compared in their lyricism with the kneeling priest in the first miniature by Jean Bondol in the Cleveland Museum's Gotha Missal of circa 1375. They are also closely related to, but are not from, the same workshop which produced the larger marble royal portrait figures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art¹ and the sculptural fragments from a Retable, formerly in the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris and now in the Louvre.

The Kneeling Carthusian Monks are of interest beyond their qualitative and stylistic position. Aside from four examples on the Champmol tombs, they are the only known existing sculptural representations of Carthusian monks from fourteenth- and fifteenth-century France. This is especially remarkable because drawings and old engravings demonstrate their former frequency in sculpture. Also the Cleveland Monks are rare as figures kneeling in prayer. The only other examples of kneeling figures known in French sculpture of the same period are the royal portrait figures in the Metropolitan and a stylistically related kneeling figure of a

¹ Pierre Pradel, "Sur trois priants royaux du XIV^e conserves au Metropolitan Museum," *Miscellanea Prof. Dr. D. Roggen* (Antwerp, 1957), pp. 213-218.

lady in prayer from the Micheli collection and now in the Musée Mayer van den Berg in Antwerp.² Kneeling Carthusian monks appear on several occasions in extant paintings as in the panel by Jean de Beaumetz and assistants (cat. no. vi-12) and in the frontispiece for the Canon of the Mass of a lost Missal also in the Cleveland Museum collection.³

Intriguing questions arise as to the original setting for the marble Carthusians. Germain Seligman has plausibly proposed that they may indeed come from the destroyed Chartreuse de Paris. In this Carthusian foundation Mr. Seligman has identified three possible settings in which the Cleveland Monks may have played a part. Their devotional pose suggests, first of all, they may have been placed together or separately in one or two cells and in adoration of the Virgin or the Crucifixion. A painted parallel for this may be seen in the Beaumetz panel thought to have come from one of the cells at the Chartreuse de Champmol. Aubin-Louis Millin (1759-1818), who saw the Chartreuse de Paris before its destruction after the Revolution, described the cells as decorated with paintings and sculptures: "Les cellules étoient fort agréables à voir par la propreté qui y regnoit; quelquesunes même étoient ornées, et renfermoient des tableaux et des statues de nos plus habiles artistes."⁴ Although both of the Monks were intended to have been placed on a ledge or some other horizontal support, they were not necessarily placed together in the same setting, as their flattened backs are treated differently. One is nearly smooth and the other is roughly scored, possibly to aid its adherence by mortar to a wall behind it.

The second possible setting was an architectural one. Mil-
(Continued on page 374)

² Jozef de Coo, "L'Ancienne collection Micheli au Musée Mayer van den Bergh," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6 Per, LXVI (December 1965), p. 351.

³ CMA Bulletin, L (September 1963), 202-203, no. 17, repr. p. 199.

⁴ Aubin-Louis Millin, *Antiquités nationales* (Paris, 1790-1799), v, 60.



Ile-de-France, Paris,
ca. 1390–1400

VI 11 *Death, Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin.* Vellum, grisaille,
H. 25-1/2, W. 12-7/8 inches. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet
des Dessins.

Once in the collection of the Florentine art historian, Filippo Baldinucci, this very large drawing was formerly thought to have been an Italian work. It is now accepted as a French masterpiece of the late fourteenth century, probably from Paris. The technique is actually that of grisaille painting comparable to that used by Jean Pucelle, Jean Bondol, and the artist of the Cluny Miter, all shown in the present exhibition (see cat. nos. v-15, vi-3, 4). Paul Durrieu gave the present work to André Beauneveu, the sculptor and painter for John, Duke of Berry, among others. Beauneveu completed the Duke's Psalter in 1385 with its semi-grisaille portraits of prophets. R. de Lasteyrie rejected this attribution but compared the Louvre drawing with other works produced in Paris at the same time. P. Lavalée saw in it the influence of Sienese work and a similarity to certain North Italian drawings. In finish and in subtle modeling it is to be compared especially with the Altarcloth of Narbonne in the Louvre,

even though it is by a different hand, the figures here being more idealized and without emotional expression.

The subject of the present object in its entirety is the Glorification of the Virgin. In the lower half the episodes begin with her death; her assumption takes place in the center where she is received by Christ with a retinue of angels, and at the top she is crowned in the presence of the Trinity and music-making angels. The work may be a rare, if not unique, design or project for a stained-glass window.

The nearly innocuous elegance of this handsome piece, together with its subtle and fluid modeling, ally it with works on the periphery of André Beauneveu, such as the Cleveland Madonna and Child sculpture (cat. no. vi-8) and the strangely ethereal full-page frontispiece miniatures added to the *Très Belles Heures* of the Duke of Berry now in Brussels (MS. 11060-61).



Burgundy, ca.1390–1395,
by Jean de Beaumetz,
active 1361–died 1396

VI 12 *Calvary with a Carthusian Monk.* Oak panel, H. 22-1/4, W. 17-15/16 inches. Provenance: Chartreuse de Champmol, near Dijon. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase, Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Bequest, 64.454.

The exact birthplace of Jean de Beaumetz is not known, but as he came from Arras, it is probable that he was born in and derived his name from either Beaumetz-les-Loges or Beaumetz-les-Cambrai. He is recorded in Valenciennes in 1361, where he knew André Beauneveu; he went to Paris, where on May 13, 1375, he entered the service of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, as court painter and was sent to Dijon. He worked on the vaulting of the Carthusian monastery at Champmol from 1384 to 1387. From 1388 to 1391 he executed paintings in Burgundy in the chapel of the Châteaux at Argilly, and in several rooms and the oratory of the castle of Germolles. He also worked on paintings for the "Angel's Chapel" and the church of the Carthusian monastery. None of these works have survived. In 1393 Philip the Bold sent him with Claus Sluter to study the paintings and sculpture which André Beauneveu was working on for the Castle of Mehun-sur-Yevre for the Duke of Berry. He directed the execution of twenty-four votive pictures of unidentified subjects for the cells of the Carthusian monks at Champmol, and in 1390 one of the several altarpieces for the monks' chapel was erected. After 1377 he is referred to in the records as Valet de Chambre to Monseigneur le Duc. He died in 1396. Being court painter to the Duke of Burgundy, he had an active workshop with as many as nineteen assistants in 1388; two of the more important of these assistants were Jehan Gentil (who was responsible for grinding pigments) and Girard de la Chapelle. In many of the invoices for the building of the Chartreuse de Champmol, the original contracts and documents between Jean de Beaumetz and Duke Philip may be found. These are preserved in the Archives of the Court of Burgundy.¹

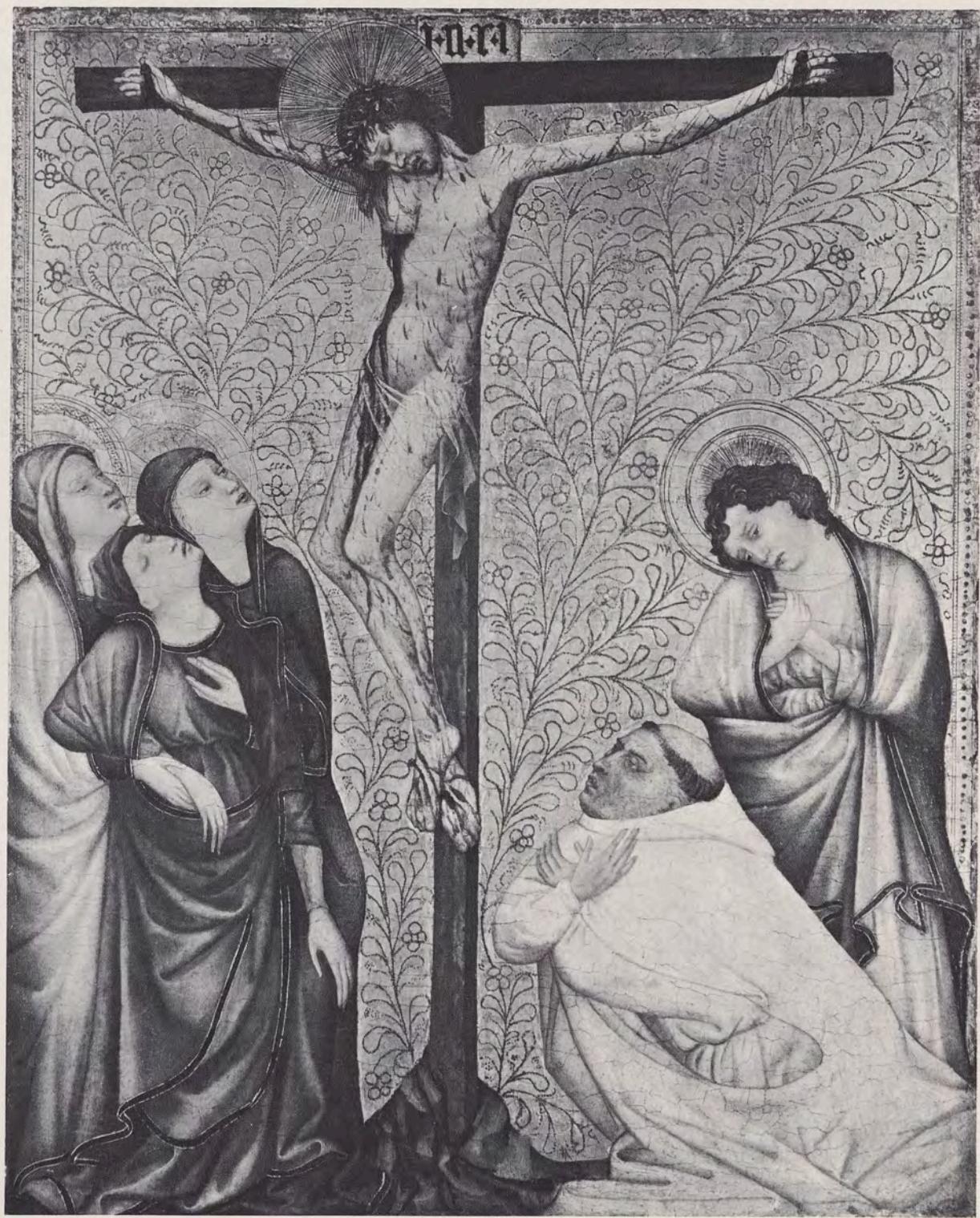
¹ See the Archives Départementales de la Côte-d'Or at Dijon (B.4422, fol. 22), Bernard and Henri Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers et extraits de comptes des Ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois* (2 vols.; Paris, 1902–1913), and C. Monget, *La Chartreuse de Dijon* (3 vols.; 1898–1905). The present discussion is based on that of Nancy Coe Wixom prepared for the forthcoming catalogue of paintings and manuscripts in the Cleveland Museum prior to 1500.

Until Charles Sterling published his illuminating study in 1955,² no work could be assigned with any degree of certainty to Jean de Beaumetz. Sterling proposed that the Cleveland panel, then in the Wildenstein collection, and a similar Calvary in the Chalandon collection, also with a Carthusian monk, were both two of the twenty-six paintings ordered from Jean de Beaumetz in 1388 for the monks' cells in the Chartreuse de Champmol by Philip, Duke of Burgundy (see cat. no. VI-21). The two panels differ in the modeling and posture of each of the figures, and their gold backgrounds are not the same. That of the Cleveland panel has two stippled foliated and floriated Trees of Life flanking the cross, a subject fully discussed by Henry S. Francis.³ Nevertheless, the two panels closely resemble each other in color, composition, and iconography, as well as in their size. The Cleveland panel is especially moving in its sensitive harmonies of nearly transparent shades of pink, blue, green, and white. The lyric pathos of the subject is fully embodied not only in color but also in curvilinear motifs which repeat and vary throughout, accentuating a mood of ineffable sadness and sense of pain, made more acute in the blood-red accents on the central figure of the dead Christ. The mood is basically akin to that expressed in many other International Style works—the Deposition miniature by the Egerton Master in the Hours of Charles the Noble and the ivory Meditation on the Passion, to mention only a few examples (cat. nos. VI-25, 16).

The present panel painting and the similar one in the Chalandon collection can be related, according to Sterling, with the records of a merchant named Thevenin de Sens in Dijon, from whom Beaumetz ordered the necessary gilding for the panels in 1389. Another document indicates the delivery of twenty-six panels whose measurements correspond
(Continued on page 374)

² Charles Sterling, "Oeuvres retrouvées de Jean de Beaumetz, Peintre de Philippe de Hardi," *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts Bulletin*, IV (1955), 57–81.

³ Henry S. Francis, "Jean de Beaumetz: The Calvary with a Carthusian Monk," *CMA Bulletin*, LIII (November 1966).



Normandy (?),
second half 14th century

VI 13 *Calvary Group with the Fainting Virgin.* Wood, H. 39-1/2, W. 22-7/8
inches. Louviers (Eure), église de Notre-Dame.

The Virgin swoons, supported amidst a cluster of mourners who were gathered at the foot of a now-lost crucifix. The subject and composition may be compared with a similar group in the panel painted by Jean de Beaumetz for one of the cells at the Chartreuse de Champmol (see cat. no. VI-12). However, unlike the painted group, the wood composition contains the figure of Saint John the Evangelist next to and supporting the Virgin's left hand. The presence of Saint John suggests that the sculpture was originally balanced by a lost centurion group on the other side of the cross.

The Louviers group is remarkable for its low-relief, exquisite illusionism. Elongated draped figures are carved in

such a way that the space intervals and the separate masses have a reality yet also exist within a single relief context. The curvilinear drapery edges and the undulating folds create a surface rhythm which emphasizes the frontal plane of the whole group and is probably characteristic also of the entire retable of which this relief was originally a part.

The expression of grief is typically French in its restraint. The pathos is moving but not overwhelming; it declines to follow the emotional intensity of German and Austrian works. This is an ideal symbol of grief at Calvary: eloquent but also elegant.



Late 14th century

VI 14 *The Annunciation*. Panel, H. 13-7/8, W. 10-1/2 inches with frame.

Inscriptions: [on band held by angel] *ave gracia plena dominus tecum; [on the halo of the angel] sanctus gabriel archangelus dei; [on the halo of Mary] [ecc] e ácilla domini fiat michi secūdū verbū tuum.* The Cleveland Museum of Art, Mr. and Mrs. William H. Marlatt Fund, 54.393.

Frequently reproduced, the Annunciation panel formerly in the Sachs collection, has rarely been noted for the decoration on its reverse. R. van Luttervelt was the first to point out the proximity of the coat of arms on the back to those of the House of Hainaut.¹ Mojmir Frinta, in his recent study on punch marks, noted that the *fleur-de-lis* motif liberally used on the reverse also occurs repeatedly in fourteenth-century Sienese painting.² Other punchings both on the front and the back occur on the "small Bargello Diptych" in Florence.

It is with this latter work that the Cleveland Annunciation has the closest stylistic parallels, as pointed out by Friedrich Winkler in 1927.³ Winkler, joined by Otto Pächt,⁴ felt these panels were painted by the same hand. Wolfgang Stechow doubts this because "of a strong difference in temperament and composition" and because the Cleveland panel "looks 'more French.'"⁵ Dr. Stechow has noted the motif of the sliding Christ Child in the Annunciation tapestry now in the Metropolitan Museum. A similar motif is found between the bust of God the Father and the Virgin. The tapestry was probably woven at Arras in Artois just south of Hainaut and, as discussed by Erwin Panofsky, it is related to Melchior Broederlam, the artist from Ypres in Flanders who painted

the great altar wings commissioned by Philip the Bold for the Chartreuse de Champmol. Still another point of comparison can be suggested in the two full-page frontispiece miniatures added to the *Très Belles Heures* in Brussels (MS. 11060-61), one of which depicts a seated Virgin and Child whose modeling, facial details, hair, and proportions (especially notable in the extensive torso) are somewhat similar even though the miniature stresses the curvilinear rhythms of the draperies.⁶ Another notable point is the curious distortions of human limbs in both works. In the panel this is evident in the great length of the arm of the angel as it curves around behind the lectern. In the Brussels Hours, near the kneeling portrait of the Duke of Berry in the miniature facing the Virgin, is a depiction of Saint John the Baptist with a strangely dangling left leg. The two frontispiece miniatures, different in character from the remainder of the manuscript, have been variously attributed to André Beauneveu and Jacquemart de Hesdin, both Netherlandish artists who worked for members of the Valois family in France.

All of the various comparisons cited seem to create an artistic ambiance which revolves around the work of artists from southern Netherlandish origins in the Hainaut, Flanders, and Artois who gave mature expressions of their artistic sensitivities mostly in France and for the French courts. The refinement of color, pattern, and line producing an elegance and tasteful splendor imbued with an intimate lyricism are elements or qualities of the court art which flowered in France under the Valois circa 1400. For these reasons, we may still agree with some authors that the Cleveland panel was produced in Paris.

¹ In a letter dated April 18, 1961.

² Mojmir Frinta, "An Investigation of the Punched Decoration of Medieval Italian and Non-Italian Panel Paintings," *Art Bulletin*, XLVII (1965), 264.

³ Friedrich Winkler, "Ein unbekannte französisches Tafelbild," *Belvedere*, xi (1927), 6 ff.

⁴ Otto Pächt in *Burlington Magazine*, XCIII (1956), 113.

⁵ Quoted from Dr. Stechow's preparatory discussion in the forthcoming catalogue of paintings before 1500 in the Cleveland Museum.

⁶ Discussed and reproduced in color in L. M. J. Delaissé, *Minatures médiévales* (Geneva, 1959), pp. 90-95, pls. 19, 20.



This tiny drawing on the prepared ground of a thin sheet of boxwood has been completely eclipsed by the larger series of five drawings on boxwood, a six-leaf pattern book also owned by the Morgan Library, which was published as by André Beauneveu in 1906.¹ It shares the same drawing technique, probably silverpoint, and is undoubtedly roughly contemporary to the larger work which has a long vertical format. The hand who produced the present drawing, probably also a pattern drawing, is completely different. Without any known history, the apparently unpublished smaller work is here illustrated for the first time.

The Virgin is seated on an architectural throne not unlike those in Beauneveu's Psalter (Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 13091). While the single boxwood drawing lacks the sculptural character of Beauneveu's painted figures, it is perhaps closer to him than the five drawings on boxwood. The throne in the present work is especially similar to one shown on folio 25

¹ Roger Fry, "On a Fourteenth Century Sketchbook," *Burlington Magazine*, x, no. 43 (1906), pp. 32-38. See also Charles Parkhurst, "The Madonna of the Writing Christ Child," *Art Bulletin*, xxiii (1941), 300-301, fig. 33, with additional bibliography.

verso of this manuscript. There are also several parallels with the miniatures as a group in the details of the drapery, hair, pose, and proportions despite the differences of the subjects. The intimacy and sketchy hesitancy of the drawing remove it to an entirely different realm from that of the highly finished frontispiece miniature of the *Très Belles Heures* of John, Duke of Berry, in the Brussels Royal Library (MS. 11060-61). The Virgin with the writing Christ Child, the first of the five drawings on boxwood, is so close to this miniature, as first suggested by Roger Fry, that they might be almost by the same hand. In contrast, the light and dark modeling and the flickering linear character of the present single drawing seems closer to the Cluny Miter (cat. no. vi-4), which because of its different textured ground and larger scale seems a little coarser.

If the present work is indeed a pattern drawing, we may some day find clues as to where it was used as the model. In any case, we can enjoy it for its exquisite and minute excellence, a treasured representative on a tiny scale of the International Style.



End of 14th century

VI 16 *Meditation on the Passion.* Ivory, H. 3-3/4 inches. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 71.288.

Six bearded apostles are clustered closely on a single seat; their heads hang pensively in sadness. The bare feet of the three foremost apostles and their books are the only attributes of the group. The heads of all six are covered by their mantles.

Philippe Verdier has postulated that this group comes from an altarpiece dating from the end of the fourteenth century, and is one section of the Passion told in a series of appliquéd figures carved in ivory. However, Verdier has also noted the puzzling features of the iconography which combine elements of the sleeping apostles at Gethsemane preceding Christ's arrest, and the Pentecost when they traditionally appear seated with books. These motives, as observed by Verdier, derive from fourteenth-century diptychs. One such diptych from the Toledo Museum is included in the exhibition, and a comparison can be made with the sleeping apostles at Gethsemane which appears on the right-hand leaf (cat. no. v-24). The present group, to quote Verdier, "is distinguished not so much by an increased realism—a general trend in the French

ivories after the middle of the fourteenth century—as by the isolation of the subject and its treatment as a theme of meditation."¹ This small ivory expresses a pathos and a tense introspection rarely found in the ivory medium and more familiar in painting, as in the miniatures by Jean Bondol in the Gotha Missal or in sculpture especially in Burgundy (see cat. nos. vi-3, 21).

These works are unfamiliar because they have been little studied and because they were questioned by Raymond Koechlin in his standard book on ivories. Verdier has mentioned several reliefs of similar dimensions and style preserved in the Musée du Ponthieu in Abbeville and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Another example from the Micheli collection and now in the Musée Mayer van den Bergh in Antwerp shows a seated Christ mocked by soldiers. This slightly larger ivory is of related style and function.

¹ *The International Style* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1962), p. 114.

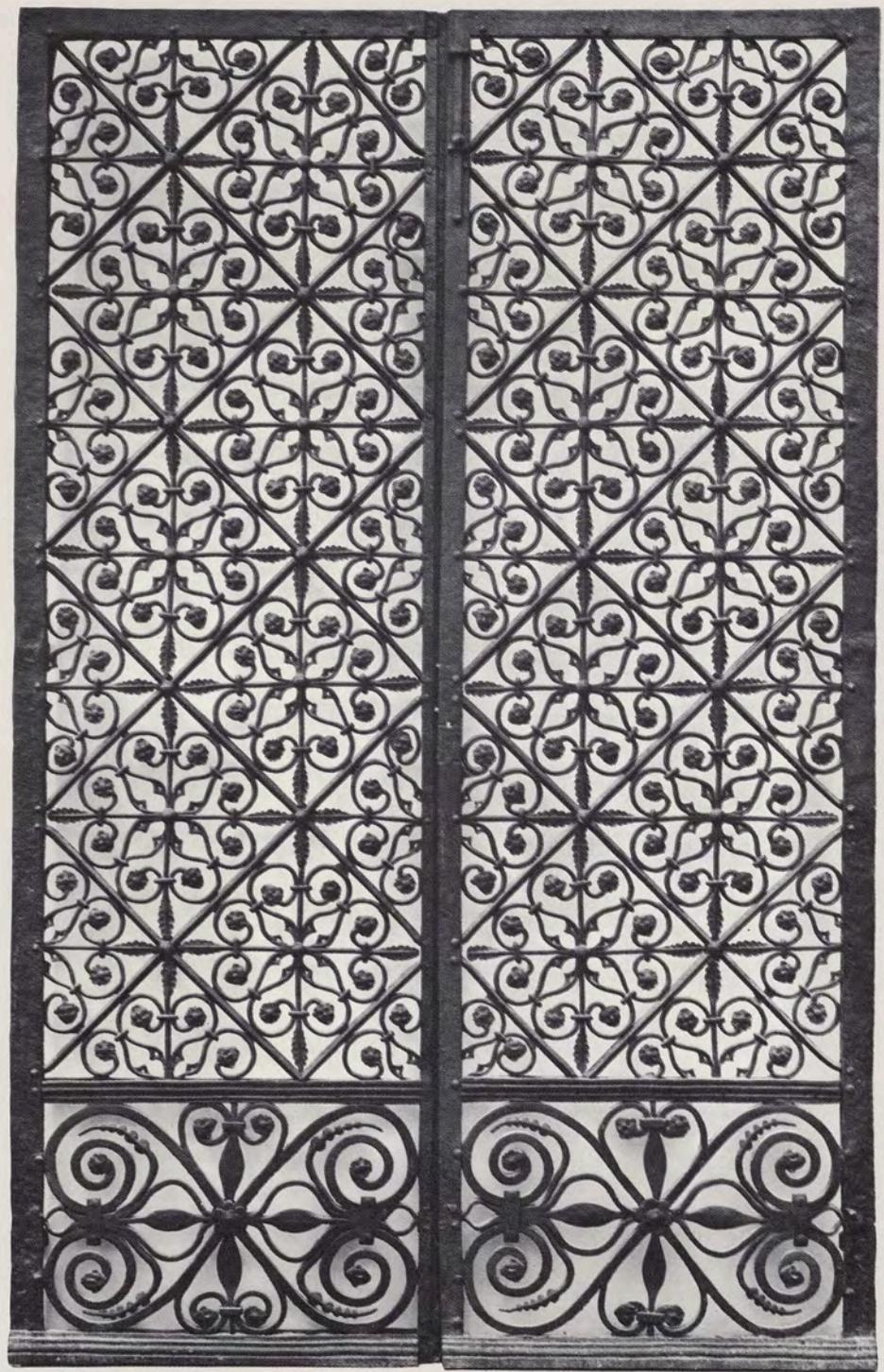


Rouen, second half 14th century

VI 17 *Grille.* Wrought iron, H. 86-5/8, W. 70-7/8 inches. Provenance: Jubé of the Cathedral of Rouen. Rouen (Seine-Maritime), Musée des Antiquités de la Seine Inférieure.

Earlier generations recognized the glory of French medieval wrought-iron work. The Musée Le-Secq-des-Tournelles in Rouen is still a record of this taste and recognition. One of its most beautiful and justly famous works is the thirteenth-century grille from the Abbey of Ourscamp.

The present Grille, dating from the second half of the fourteenth century and coming from the jubé in the cathedral of Rouen, is also worthy of our admiration and study. Little known outside Rouen, it is a marvel of intricate clarity and order. It is graceful, varied, and elegant. Rosettes alternating with mask-like faces terminate addorsed volutes in heart-like configurations within lozenges in the upper portion of the Grille. The lower section makes a play on these motifs but in a larger, more powerful way. The playfulness of the whole and its light animation is analogous in feeling to the marginal vines and leafwork of contemporary illuminated manuscripts.



Late 14th century

VI 18 *Table Fountain.* Silver gilt and translucent enamel, H. 12-1/4,
W. 9-1/2 inches. Provenance: Said to have been found in a garden in
Istanbul. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of J. H. Wade, 24.859.

Fanciful and intricate, logical and ordered, this Table Fountain gives us a vivid idea of the character of a whole group of such automata listed in Flemish and Burgundian inventories. We are also reminded that Christine de Pisan stated that Charles v had an imposing collection of table fountains. Thirty-eight appear in the inventory of Louis I, Duke of Anjou. One of these is described as a *tabernacle ouvré de maçonnerie à plusieurs tornelles* and another one as a *pillier de très belle maçonnerie, fait comme en manière de clochier à plusieurs piliers et pinacles et fenestrages esmaillés*.¹

The Cleveland Fountain, once thought to be a uniquely preserved example, can now be considered with several other works which are either fragmentary or have been adapted to other purposes. One of these is the handsome central column with buttresses surmounted by a wild man, two beasts, and flanking canopied figures, a fragment now in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum in Antwerp. Charles Oman discovered another example adapted as a monstrance in the convent of S. Pelayo at Compostella in Spain. The older central part of this example is an openwork column on a rectangular base. Above is supported a bowl rimmed with quadrilobed openwork and set with four lion-headed spouts in its sides. Günther Schiedlausky has wondered whether the large clock "of Philip the Good" at Nuremberg may originally have been a table fountain. The clockwork is of later date than the architectural canopy. However, the Cleveland work by its near-completeness (it lacks only a base and basin) and its clear purpose, is certainly the most important and appealing docu-

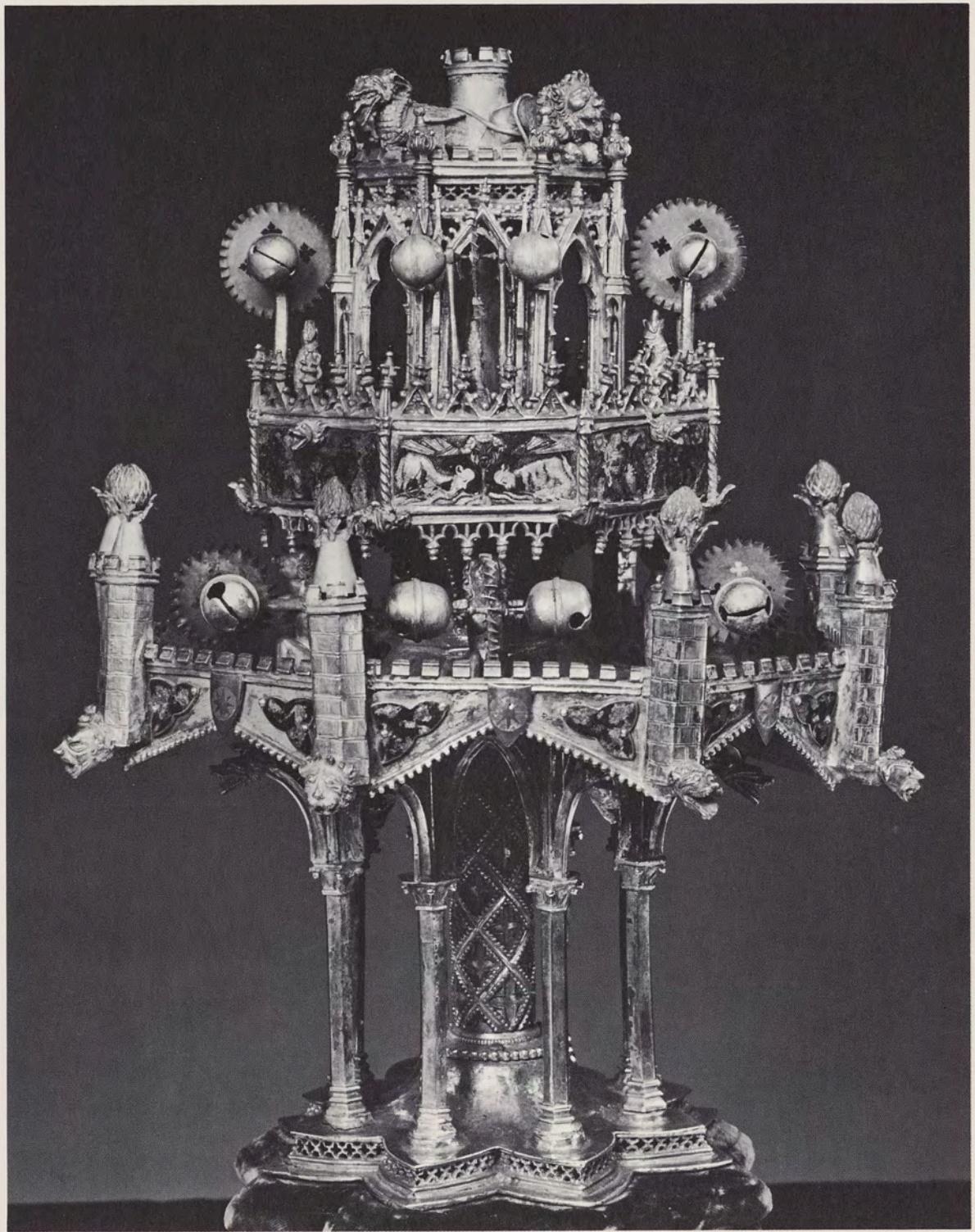
ment of such table automata. N. M. Penzer was careful to point out that the present work, a table centerpiece, was not to be confused with wine fountains.²

The translucent enamels on the central parapet depict musicians and grotesque creatures sipping at fountains. On the parapet below, similar grotesque creatures in enamel tightly fill trilobed plaques. All these enamels recall the Paris manuscript tradition of Maître Honoré and Jean Pucelle (see cat. nos. v-14, 15) and the enamel work which reflects their style (see discussion under cat. no. v-12). They especially recall a cruet with the *fleur-de-lis* Paris stamp now in Copenhagen. This work, datable in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, contains in its smaller lunette panels images in enamel remarkably similar to those on the present piece which probably follows it in date, perhaps at the end of the same century although it could be as early as circa 1370, the date suggested by Joseph Destree.

Associated with the Burgundian court and its envoys to the Holy Land and to Constantinople, where it is said to have been found in a garden, the Cleveland Fountain has generally been assigned to some unknown Franco-Burgundian workshop. In some architectural features, but not iconographic ones, it bears comparison with Claus Sluter's Well of Moses created for Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, at the Chartreuse de Champmol. However, because of its relationship to Paris traditions and especially to the Paris-made cruet, a Parisian workshop should not be ruled out.

¹ Quoted in *The International Style* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1962), no. 126.

² N. M. Penzer, "The Great Wine Coolers—II," *Apollo*, LXVI, no. 391 (September 1957), fig. II on pp. 40, 41.



Ca.1400

VI 19 *Twelve Medallions.* Gold, encrusted enamel on gold, precious and semi-precious stones, pearls, Diam. of central medallion, 1-3/4 inches.
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 47.507.

These splendid Medallions, mounted with modern connecting chains with pearls, are said to have been offered to the Virgin of Louvain by Margaret of Brabant, daughter of Duke Jean III and wife of Louis de Male, Count of Flanders (died 1384). While there has as yet been no clear confirmation of this dealer's tradition, the Medallions do recall the descriptions of jewels, especially garment clasps, which are given in early account books of the Dukes of Burgundy. Philip the Bold, whose wife was the daughter of Margaret of Brabant, seems to have lavished such jewels on his family, friends, servants, his brother Charles V, and even the Pope.

The technique includes not only gold mounts for semi-precious jewels, gold oak leaves with veins, clustered stationary pearls on prongs, pearls hanging loosely in cups, some green and red translucent enamel, but most important, thick, incrusted opaque enamel on gold. The incrusted enamel is white and appears on the petals of some of the flowers. The chief glory of the work is the tiny gold figurine with this enamel, a rare example of *émaile en ronde-bosse*. This represents a little lady with a green diadem, red lips, black eyes,

gold hair and fingers, and a white gown which covers her almost completely. It is particularly suggestive of the old accounts, for in 1393 when Mary, the daughter of Philip the Bold, married the Duke of Savoy, she is said to have given her husband a "golden clasp with a white lady."¹ Similar medallions with different subjects are known in Vienna and Essen.

Philippe Verdier has suggested that if this work "was associated with the house of Burgundy, it was executed in Paris, because Paris became during the reign of Charles VI (1380-1422) the center that provided not only the French court but the Church and the nobility throughout Europe with a new kind of jewelry, in which enamel, and especially white and crimson, was incrusted on gold reliefs *en ronde-bosse* and associated with leaf patterns in gold, white flowers and clusters of pearls often in groups of three."²

¹ *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization* (Detroit, 1960), p. 291.

² *The International Style* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1962), no. 127, pp. 125-126.



Kneeling on one knee, enveloped in a heavy mantle, head turned and with hands held forward, this small gilt-bronze sculpture embodies a conception of an Old Testament prophet which is at once monumental, powerful, and subtle. The figure seems poised momentarily in its contrapposto action. His lips are parted, his head pulled forward, and his beard is blown away from the direction of his attentive gaze. The suspended movement of the figure was further underscored by a curvilinear banderole which was formerly held in the Prophet's hands. Symbolically this figure is an heir to a long tradition of representations of figures inspired by some outer force, the gift of prophecy or the Word. Iconographically, we are reminded of the figure of the Psalmist in the Carolingian Psalter (cat. no. I-4) or the Evangelists in the Romanesque Corbie Gospels (cat. no. II-11).

The Cleveland Kneeling Prophet, completely unknown until its recent discovery, was first connected by Herbert Bier with a similar kneeling prophet of the same dimensions, material, gilding, and style preserved in the Louvre since 1903. This latter figure has long excited great admiration for its sculptural power and high quality. In recent years, as when it was shown in the *L'Art vers 1400* exhibition in Vienna, the Louvre figure has been related to the style of André Beauneveu of Valenciennes, who worked for the Duke of Berry at Bourges in his later years. Certainly there are stylistic connections with Beauneveu's painted prophets in the Duke's own Psalter,¹ the stone prophets formerly in the Sainte Chapelle of Bourges, and the stained glass panels showing prophets in the same style, also formerly in the Sainte Chapelle at Bourges (cat. no. VI-9).

However, now with two gilt-bronze prophets to consider, we are forced to examine the whole tradition of the representation of Old Testament prophets in the latter part of the fourteenth century and into the early fifteenth century, not only in France, but also in Netherlandish areas where the most original and forceful developments seem to have begun. This examination leads to some of the origins which

¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 13091.

have been cited in relation to another famous Netherlander, Claus Sluter, who also completed his career in France, working for another member of the Valois court, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. The origins of Sluter's style have been observed in the Bruges City Hall consoles and in the Brussels City Hall seated prophets (formerly over the arch above the central entrance). The line of development has led to the well-known consoles supporting the large free-standing portal figures at the entrance to the Ducal Chapel at the Chartreuse of Champmol, near Dijon. The two gilt-bronze prophets seem to be a step in advance of the Brussels prophets, sometimes attributed to Sluter himself, in their suggestion of monumentality and massiveness. The gilt bronzes also seem less frenetic and agitated than some of the Bruges figures. They approach most closely the two outer pairs of prophets on the consoles at Champmol in their controlled sense of powerful form. While lacking the enormous monumentality of Sluter's figures on the Well of Moses, the two kneeling gilt-bronze prophets convey something of the essence of their strength. In this respect it is instructive to compare the breadth and simplicity in the treatment of the draped figure in the case of the Cleveland Prophet with that of the later Detroit Virgin. This Virgin, while continuing so much of Sluter's style, abandons its inner force and power. One is tempted to say that if Sluter himself ever did any small bronzes, the two figures in Cleveland and in the Louvre are what they might have looked like, with their massive drapery and bearded heads with furrowed brows, high cheek bones, and aquiline noses.

Questions arise as to the original context of these two figures. Certainly they were caryatidal figures, as the shoulders and backs of the heads of both are similarly "squared" to receive some rectangular object. Perhaps with other prophets they supported the base for a crucifix. The Great Cross on a pillar-base of Abbot Suger, seven meters in height and completed in 1147 by Godefroy de Claire and assistants, had a program in which Old Testament references were given to (Continued on page 376)



Franco-Netherlands,
by Claus Sluter and Claus de Werve,
active 1379/80–1405/6
and 1380–1439 respectively

VI 21 *Three Mourners from the Tomb of Philip the Bold*, Chartreuse de Champmol, Dijon. Vizelle alabaster (Grenoble stone), H. 16 3/8, 16 1/2, 16 1/4 inches. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 40.128; and Bequest of Leonard C. Hanna Jr., 58.66, 58.67.

In an era when the measured pageantry of the state funeral has once more been reaffirmed, there is little difficulty in grasping the intent and poignancy of the great tomb planned and executed for Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy and brother to King Charles v. Philip's tomb was placed in the sepulchral chapel of this Ducal foundation of the Chartreuse de Champmol. Sculptured mourners seem to move slowly, singly and in clusters, all heavily garbed, and follow in procession the shadowed recesses of a miniature cloister encircling the monument beneath the funerary effigy. As suggested by Joan Evans, this procession may in effect commemorate the Duke's actual funeral procession which traveled on foot from Flanders to Dijon in 1404. In actuality the tomb was planned well ahead of this event, although it was not completed until six years after the Duke's death. As early as 1381 Jean de Marville initiated the original conception of the tomb and after his death in 1389, Claus Sluter took over the project. Sluter left its completion after his own death (not long after that of the Duke's) to his nephew Claus de Werve, who had joined the workshop December 1, 1396.

The tomb must be considered against its larger context—the sepulchral chapel with its portal made immortal by Sluter's genius, the monastery itself occupied by its contemplative inhabitants, monks of the Carthusian order, and the many art treasures, carved altarpieces and painted panels, donated by the Duke (see vi-12). It was Philip's intention that this larger ensemble was to be the funerary shrine reserved for the Dukes of Burgundy.

The fundamental layout of Philip's tomb was rooted in earlier funerary monuments in France, as at the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis, and in the Netherlands. Philip's tomb was simply two slabs of blue-black marble separated by a miniature arcade with the procession of mourners. Above the upper slab was the portrait effigy of the Duke attended by two angels. The funerary procession contained a total of

forty-one figures, and their positions are recorded in eighteenth-century drawings made prior to the Revolution which wreaked particular havoc and loss on the Chartreuse de Champmol.

The three exhibited figures from the tomb, numbers eighteen, thirty-five, and thirty-eight in the procession, have passed down through a succession of collections in France and America. They were for many years in the collection of Clarence Mackay of Long Island and were on the New York art market in the late 1930's. They eloquently demonstrate some of the expressive variations found in the remaining processional figures. The saddened figure with the rosary, head bent, is somewhat mask-like and without outward emotion. In contrast, the figure with tightly-clenched hands turns his head aside in anguish and pain. The third Mourner with a cowled head and partially hidden face is deep in contemplation.

The sculptural treatment of the draperies of the three figures also indicates something of the rich variety to be found in the entire group. The Mourner with the rosary has a bulk made elegant by columns, flutings, and ellipses formed by the ridges and recesses of the folds. The anguished figure is more massive. His drapery seems to swell and give way to internal forces. This power is most suggestive of that of Sluter's prophets on the Well of Moses. The cowled figure, in keeping with its mood of deep contemplation, is almost without mass. The folds and bunchings of drapery are like flying buttresses to a very slight internal support which is barely, if at all, felt through the drapery. Sluter's art is basically theatrical and, like Shakespeare's, it is theatrical in the best expressive sense. Sluter embodied in stone a balanced sense for rhythm, monumentality, and psychological states. The pathos and anguish of the Mourners is deeply felt and rhythmically ordered in time as we follow their measured steps. Great art immortalizes. Philip knew it and he picked his artists well.



Burgundian, ca.1425–1430

VI 22 *Virgin and Child*. Limestone with traces of paint, H. 42-1/2, W. of base, 16-1/2 x 11 inches. Provenance: Said to be from Rouvres-en-Plains (Côte-d'Or). The Detroit Institute of Arts, 36.27.

The high sculptural quality of the Detroit Virgin led the late William R. Valentiner to attribute the conception, and the carving of the face and right hand, to Sluter himself as an example of his late style. Philippe Verdier also underscored the qualitative level of the sculpture in his more recent discussion in the catalogue for the International Style exhibition in Baltimore. Verdier felt, however, that the sculptor, while Burgundian and influenced by Sluter, was very close to the creator of the much-admired Virgin of Auxonne (Côte d'Or). Both Virgins have an expansiveness, breadth, and richness of draperies, a gentle *hancement*, nearly closed eyes with puffy lids, mouths dappled at the corners, double

chins, full rounded cheeks, and curly locks framed by a heavy veil. All of these features were utilized by Sluter. Certainly the residual monumentality of the Detroit Virgin derives from Sluter's prophet figures on the Well of Moses, which had an enormous impact on Burgundian sculpture in the fifteenth century. However, some of the physiognomic elements, as well as the sense of breadth given the figure, may be due to the intermingling of two traditions—the dominant one being that of Sluter, and the second and older one being that of the tradition of Madonna sculptures in the fourteenth century in Lorraine and Burgundy.



Ile-de-France, Paris, ca.1405,
by the Luçon Master

VI 23 *Book of Hours*, in Latin. Vellum, 167 leaves, H. 7-1/8, W. 5-1/8
inches. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, W. 231.

The twenty miniatures in this Book of Hours are all by a single artist capable of painting with great refinement and simple, jewel-like coloring. He was an artist who, while sensitive to human activity was more interested in giving his figures an inner awareness and lyricism, particularly in the way he accented the eyes. A certain quietness pervades his miniatures even though he sometimes does this with intense color. What better miniature can be used as an example of this than his full-page painting depicting the Death of the Virgin? Here he expresses in his native talent the use of color, graceful line, and shallow modeling. His vision of this scene was not one of great anguish and wailing but one of quiet meditation and thoughtful sorrow. The reading figure at the right gives the essence of the Luçon Master's type of eloquence. While the refinement allies this miniature with the great grisaille drawing from the Louvre (see cat. no. vi-11), the purposes differ in the essentials. By contrast, the Luçon Master gives most of his figures a sense of awareness of each other and of the event which they witness, a feature lacking in the large design.

We are told that the Luçon Master worked at times for John, Duke of Berry, and members of his retinue, and also for other patrons.¹ His best-known work is the profusely

illuminated Missal and Pontifical (Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 8886) which he completed in the early fifteenth century for Etienne Loypeau, Bishop of Luçon (1388–1407)—hence his name, the Luçon Master, given to him by Millard Meiss.

The Luçon Master seems to have been the head of an active atelier, and his hand has been observed in many manuscripts of this period. At first his style and some of his iconographic peculiarities must have grown out of those associated with Jacquemart de Hesdin as seen in the miniatures in the *Très Belles Heures* in Brussels (MS. 11060–61). However, in the present manuscript, the Luçon Master has already begun to abandon the effects of plasticity which he derived from Jacquemart in favor of what Dorothy Miner has called "mannered expressiveness." Never sharing Jacquemart's landscape and architectural interests, our Master also seems to have preferred tesselated backgrounds with minimal accessories. For this reason, he is most expressive with subjects whose activity is suspended. Thus the votive depiction of an angel supporting a bust-length dead Christ, a subject in favor at this time in both painting and enamels, becomes another occasion for him to reaffirm his basic desire for lyric simplicity.

¹ *The International Style* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1962), no. 47, pp. 50–51, pl. LV.



Second quarter
or late 15th century

VI 24 *Medallion: Coronation of the Virgin.* Translucent enamel on silver,
Diam. 2-1/2 inches (excluding frame of later date). New York,
Mr. and Mrs. Germain Seligman.

The subject of this exquisite enamel might be described in a cumbersome but more accurate fashion as "the Virgin being crowned by angels in the presence of the Trinity." Except for the figure of Christ shown at the left with a nude torso, the three figures who loom behind the tiny kneeling Virgin are identical in physiognomy, costume, and color.

While this enamel has been previously exhibited within the International Style context¹ as it is catalogued here, the present writer no longer can support this earlier dating. Instead the hint given by Colin Eisler seems to be more cogent. Dr. Eisler suggested a date circa 1470 because of its similarity to paintings of that date.² More specifically, the present writer would like to propose that the Seligman Medallion was produced in the same workshop as that of the Cleveland enamel Triptych from the Kremlin, which was also once considered to be from the earlier International Style period. The Triptych can now be shown to date at the end of the fifteenth century (see cat. no. VII-15).

Not only are the physiognomic types very similar, but the drapery treatment in both works is particularly close despite

¹ *The International Style* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1962), no. 131.

² Colin Eisler, "Le gothique international," *Art de France*, IV (1964), 289.

the differences in color. The figure of Saint Anne on the back of the Triptych is especially related to those of the Trinity figures in the modeling of drapery, in proportions, and in the use of the engraver's line. The treatment of the moldings of the *tempietto* behind Saint Anne, while not identical with those in the Medallion, is certainly similar in feeling. The architectural character of the furnishings in both works is one of the best stylistic clues which confirms a dating after the inroads of the Italian Renaissance came to be felt in France in the work of the Maître de Moulins, Jean Fouquet, Jean Colombe, and Jean Bourdichon. Just as the Cleveland Triptych reflects in part a specific painting by Bourdichon, the Medallion seems to depend in its crown-bearing angels on the famous painted Triptych at Moulins. Also, the Medallion's kneeling Virgin should be compared with a similar Virgin in stained glass given to the Maître de Moulins and in the Popillons Chapel in the Cathedral of Moulins.³

A later dating of the Medallion in no way belittles its beauty, but is a step in the direction of understanding more fully a little-studied aspect of French enameling in the late Gothic period.

³ "Miniature, peinture, vitrail: le Maître de Moulin," *Art de France*, II (1962), 247, fig. 1.



Ile-de-France,
Paris, ca.1400–1408,
by Egerton Master and
Zebo da Firenze

VI 25 *Hours of Charles the Noble*, in Latin and French. Vellum, 329 leaves,
H. 7-5/8, W. 5-3/8 inches. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase,
Mr. and Mrs. William H. Marlatt Fund, 64.40.

This profusely decorated Book of Hours is known from its coat of arms, repeated twenty-five times, as the Hours of Charles the Noble after its first owner Charles III (1361–1425), King of Navarre, Count of Evreux and Duke of Nemours. This manuscript can be dated on various grounds within the first decade after 1400.¹ The probable product of one of the prominent Paris publishing houses, the Hours of Charles the Noble demonstrates a remarkable collaboration of several artists in its illustration and decoration. The manuscript's inclusion in *Treasures from Medieval France* is on the basis that it is a French production in which both an Italian and a Netherlander, who produced the main miniatures, are conveyors of outside traditions into the Paris-Berry milieu, while at the same time they in turn are influenced by the art of their adopted home. This one manuscript, as much as any other considered here, may be taken as symbolic of the subtle cross-fertilizations which permeated the period of the so-called International Style.

Several years ago the late Jean Porcher discovered that one of these artists signed a small book held by one of the marginal beasts: *Zebo da Firenze dipintore*. It has been assumed, and plausibly so, that this unique signature applies to the main painter responsible for nineteen of the twenty-four illustrations, all of the historiated initials, and many of the marginal figures. Zebo's real contribution, not without influence in northern circles, may be seen in some of his finest miniatures, such as the Annunciation, Presentation, and Coronation miniatures contained in the Hours of Charles the Noble. In these he reveals himself, first of all, as a colorist; that is to say, he uses intrinsically beautiful colors with subtlety and a knowledge of the crucial part they can play in

the exposition of a design. Second, in these miniatures he demonstrates his ability as a "little master" in the depiction of space, especially interior space. Third, following the great Italian masters of the painted panel and fresco, Zebo can on occasion express something of the deep, yet idealized emotion of his subjects through the use of facial expression. This is especially evident in the Man of Sorrows and Crucifixion miniatures in the Cleveland manuscript.

Zebo was an exponent of Italian art in Paris. He must be considered, in particular, as a conveyor of Florentine and Sienese elements, both iconographic and stylistic. Indeed some of the Italianisms of the greater and far better-known Limbourg Brothers may be due to Zebo's presence in the Paris-Berry circle just as they were beginning some of their major projects. Zebo's use of architecture—the attached oratory discussed by Millard Meiss, the thin, enframing foreground columns setting off interior spaces, and the three-quarter architectural view as a basis for an interior-exterior setting—should be considered in relation to the Limbourg Brothers' development of architectural forms. Zebo's borders, inhabited with frolicking and music-making putti and other figures, may have inspired one of the Limbourg Brothers when he painted the border for the Annunciation miniature in the Belles Heures (folio 30), from the Cloisters, New York (cat. no. vi-28). Zebo must also be considered as another exponent of the iconographies based on the influential pseudo-Bonaventura's *Meditations*, which had widespread impact in Italy during the fourteenth century, and increasing importance in the North during the late fourteenth century and the fifteenth century.

The second miniaturist in the Hours of Charles the Noble has been identified by Millard Meiss as the Egerton Master after a group of his miniatures in a Book of Hours in the British Museum (Egerton 1070). Certain general conclusions can be made from the five miniatures which this artist contributed to the Hours of Charles the Noble. First, in his own way, he is a master in the use of color and space toward (Continued on page 377)

¹ For further details and documentation see William D. Wixom, "The Hours of Charles the Noble," *CMA Bulletin*, LII (March 1965), 50–83, in which all miniatures are reproduced. The textual contents and collation of the manuscript is given on pp. 90–91. Included in the same number is: Emanuel Winternitz, "The Hours of Charles the Noble, Musicians and Musical Instruments," pp. 84–90.



Ile-de-France, Paris, ca.1409,
by Jacquemart de Hesdin,
active 1384–1409(?)

VI 26 *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Vellum, H. 14-7/8, W. 11-1/8 inches.
Provenance: Grandes Heures du duc de Berry. Paris, Musée du
Louvre, Département des Peintures.

This painting on vellum has regrettably lost much of its original brilliance of color and surface. Nevertheless, it is to be admired for the color harmonies it still retains in which the blues and whites and russet reds dominate.

The work was once attributed to the School of Avignon because it appears to be based on Simone Martini's panel from the Polyptych of Cardinal Napoleone Orsini. The relevant panel, now in the Louvre, is thought to have once been at Avignon along with the other panels, now lost or dispersed to the museums in Antwerp and Berlin. More recent opinion attributes the painting to Jacquemart de Hesdin, the probable illuminator of the sequence of large miniatures in the *Très Belles Heures* of the Duke of Berry in Brussels (MS. 11060–61).¹ A large miniature of the same subject and similar composition but with important differences may be seen in the Brussels Hours. The composition also occurs in a contemporary tapestry, probably Arras work, now in the Cathedral of La Seo in Saragossa, Spain.² Otto Pächt and Carl Nordenfalk have recognized that the present leaf, now mounted on cloth, was probably one of the lost full-page miniatures of

¹ For documentation see Charles Sterling and Hélène Adhémar, *Peintures, école française XIV^e, XV^e, et XVI^e siècles* (Paris, 1965), p. 3.

² See *Europäische Kunst um 1400* (Vienna, 1962), no. 518 and compare with the Egerton Master's version of the same subject, William D. Wixom, "The Hours of Charles the Noble," *CMA Bulletin*, LII (March 1965), 75–76.

the *Grandes Heures* of the Duke of Berry which was terminated in 1409 (Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 919) and which the ducal inventory of 1413 describes as containing *très notablement enluminées et historiées de grans histoires de la main Jacquemart de Hodin*. The leaves of the *Grandes Heures* now measure 15-3/4 by 11-13/16 inches, and because of the erosion and losses of the outer edges it must have been even larger, thus adding plausibility to the suggestion of Pächt and Nordenfalk. In 1956, Millard Meiss assigned the present single miniature to the "circle of the Brussels Master [Jacquemart de Hesdin] to which Beenken and Panofsky have given it; it is certainly a late work by this master, around 1400–1405."³

At the lower left of the miniature are two young ladies or girls and a small boy. They are dressed in accordance with Italian taste, as verified by the lady shown in the Book of Hours from the Spencer collection (cat. no. VI–6). The foremost figure wears a diadem with small stones. Pächt thought that this figure might be the small daughter of the Duke of Berry, basing his claim on the portraits in the *Recueil de traités didactiques* of 1406 (Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 926, fol. 2). The costumes might be explained by the Paris taste for things Italian at this time, even the importation of artists from Italy (see cat. no. VI–25). Lombard art and Sienese painting seem to have been in special favor.

³ Millard Meiss, "The Exhibition of French Manuscripts of the XIII–XVI Centuries at the Bibliothèque Nationale," *Art Bulletin*, xxxviii (1956), 192.



Ile-de-France, Paris, ca.1410,
by the Bedford Master.

VI 27 *Book of Hours*, in Latin, for Paris use. Vellum, 272 leaves, H. 5-1/2,
W. 3-1/2 inches. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, W. 209.

This volume is a delightful work of circa 1410 attributed to the youthful Bedford Master following the suggestion of Otto Pächt.¹ The miniatures, painted on the silky vellum, are especially refined and delicate. In the scale of the figures as well as in certain color relations, the work may be compared with the Egerton Master's miniatures in the Hours of Charles the Noble (cat. no. vi-25). The Bedford Master lacks the latter's intuitive grasp of psychological expressions and on the whole is more delicate and gentle in his rendition of figures and settings. Also, the present artist had not yet broken away from the fourteenth-century preference for tesselated backgrounds, and consequently in this respect too he differs from the Egerton Master, who had by this time shown a remarkable gift at suggesting landscape space via atmospheric perspective.

Similarities of drawing, coloring, and sensitive modeling ally the miniatures, especially that of the Annunciation, with the two miniatures added to the Gotha Missal at about this time, circa 1410 (see cat. no. vi-3). Both groups contain the same dwarf fluffy trees and the same physiognomies, especially evident in the angels. Dorothy Miner tells us that at this time the Bedford Master can be seen collaborating with the Boucicaut Master, the Luçon Master, the Rohan Master, and others, which explains certain aspects of his work and his

subsequent development.² He may have influenced these artists in return. Mature works by them and their workshops are included in the exhibition (cat. nos. iv-29 through 34). Very little of the involved and lavish style of the Bedford Master's mature period is intimated in the present work.

It is of interest to note the Italianate entwined acanthus borders on the pages with the Annunciation and Office of the Dead miniatures (folios 3 and 161). This probably reflects the presence of Italian manuscripts and artists in Paris at this time. Zebo da Firenze, who contributed the major part of the decoration in the Hours of Charles the Noble, was such an artist who apparently worked side by side with the Egerton Master at this time (see cat. no. vi-25). Zebo's acanthus borders, however, are more vigorous and they are inhabited by many animals, heads, and quantities of animated figures, some nude and others playing musical instruments.

The remaining borders in the present manuscript are relatively simple. Later the Bedford Master used the borders of his large illustrations as an incredibly rich, supplementary series of miniature scenes. While many of these were architecturally framed, others might be considered by now the heirs to Zebo's inhabited borders of acanthus. The Book of Hours from the Morgan Library (cat. no. vi-35), which closely reflects the Bedford Master, is a good example of this later type of border in the north, which might also be compared to the Book of Hours from the Mazarine Library (cat. no. vi-32).

¹ *The International Style* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1962), no. 50, which provides a useful summary of the research to date on the youthful Bedford Master.

² *Ibid.*



Franco-Netherlands,
ca. 1410–1413, by Pol, Jean,
and Herman de Limbourg.

VI 28 *Belles Heures of John, Duke of Berry*, in Latin and French, for
Paris use. Vellum, 224 leaves, H. 6-5/8, W. 9-3/8 inches. New York,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection, 54.1.1.

The *ex libris*, written by Jean Flamel, secretary to the Duke of Berry, reads: "These Hours were made to the order of the very excellent and mighty Prince Jehan, son of the King of France, Duke of Berry and Auvergne, Count of Poitou, Etampes, Boulogne, and Auvergne. Flamel." The Duke's escutcheon, *fleur-de-lis* in gold on azure ground within an indented red border, appears five times in this deluxe volume. Three show his emblems of the bear and swan which is also in the left-hand border of the Annunciation miniature reproduced here (folio 30). The Duke's motto, *I temps venra*, is in the calendar for December. Ninety-four full-page, and fifty-four column miniatures constitute the principal decoration of the manuscript. There are also twenty-four quadrilobed miniatures in the calendar; all of the margins are illuminated with a delicate, spiky network of gold, blue, and red ivy leaves.¹

The miniatures were painted by the famous Limbourg Brothers, known from their work in the more familiar *Très Riches Heures* in the Musée Condé in Chantilly. This larger work was begun about 1413 and was not completed by the time of the Duke of Berry's death in 1416. The *Belles Heures* was probably produced between 1410 and 1413, when it was listed as a bound volume in an inventory of the Duke's possessions. The contents include: a Calendar, scenes from the life of Saint Catherine and the Evangelists, Hours of the Virgin, Penitential Psalms, Litanies, Hours of the Cross, Hours of the Holy Spirit, miscellaneous prayers, history of Saint Bruno, the founding of the Grande Chartreuse, Office of the Dead, Hours of the Passion, Suffrages of the Saints, history of Heraclius, and Masses preceded by lives of Saints Jerome, Paul, Anthony, and John the Baptist. The volume ends with a prayer for travel with a frontispiece miniature depicting the Duke of Berry returning from a journey with

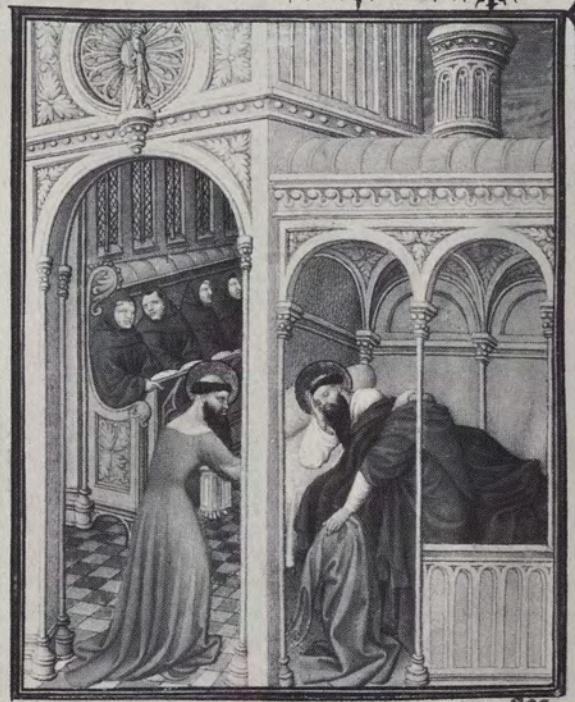
¹ See for facsimiles: Jean Porcher, *Les belles heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry* (Paris, 1953); James J. Rorimer and Margaret B. Freeman, *The Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry, Prince of France* (New York, 1958). See bibliography.

his retinue and approaching a high-walled castle and fortified gate (folio 223 verso).

The miniatures sustain a remarkable vibrancy and luminosity of color. These characteristics, plus the great care taken in the painting, the numerous pictorial inventions, the exquisite decorative character of the whole, all establish this manuscript as a particularly precious jewel among very select company. In some ways the manuscript seems conservative in the occasional tesselated or gold foliated branches against colored backgrounds. In other respects it moves with the interests of court manuscript painting at the time, showing a keen interest in supplying landscape settings for religious subjects in which are suggested distant castles and towns, clumps of trees, craggy rocks, and skies with gradations from deep to light blue at the horizon. While these features were being used by several artists in the first decade of the fifteenth century in Paris, such as the Egerton Master (cat. no. VI-25), the Limbourg Brothers gave them a special flair—more fanciful and at times even grandiose. Architectural settings, both interior and exterior, become even more elaborate in the hands of the Limbourg Brothers in this manuscript, one of their earliest.

There is one particular aspect of the present work which vies with its jewel-like decorative character. This is the artists' strange ability to render figures in action, not only in a decorative, but also in an expressive manner. Sometimes they convey deep pathos or stark emotions, completely fulfilling the potential of the subjects represented. In fact in this decade it is hard to find a more expressive Passion sequence than the one depicted in this manuscript. After the unforgettable climax of the pseudo-grisaille Night of Golgotha (folio 145 verso) is the intense, exquisite pathos of the brilliantly colored Deposition. The pathetic Virgin gazes directly into the lifeless face of the dead Christ being let down from the cross (folio 149). The Entombment (folio 152), also rendered in luminous color, is an expanded expressive version of a composition already familiar to us in the work of Pucelle and (Continued on page 379)





Mortuo autem liberio papa ieronimus dignum summo
sacerdotio ab omnibus acclamatur sed deus suscepit
a quibusdam ueste multe episcopalia modicu[m] et ad ma-
nus eius deus suscepit tamen iliane locum dedit.

E[st] ad gregorium
tame[n] ubi epi-
ad lumen p[ro]p-
terum scribi



Conuerte
nos deus
salutans
nr.

Et auerte iram
tuam a nobis
Deus misericordia
nun meum

Ile-de-France,
Paris, ca.1410–1415,
by the Boucicaut Master

VI 29 *Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut*. Vellum, 249 leaves, H. 10-7/8,
W. 7-1/2 inches. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, MS.2.

After the Très Riches Heures, this handsome Book of Hours is perhaps one of the best-known and most treasured of Gothic books of hours. It was executed in Paris for Jean II le Meingre, Maréchal de Boucicaut, whose arms once adorned many pages. The painter of the forty-one miniatures in this celebrated manuscript is therefore called the Boucicaut Master. He collaborated with another prominent artist, the so-called Bedford Master, on a number of other manuscripts; he also seems to have founded an atelier, the source of a great number of manuscripts during the following decades. Three other manuscripts with miniatures, either from the hand of the Master himself or from his atelier, are discussed in succeeding pages (cat. nos. VI-30, 31, 32).

While the date of the present work is not exactly certain, it can be approximated, as Erwin Panofsky has shown, in relation to datable miniatures by the Master in other manuscripts. In this way, the largest group of miniatures seem to date around 1405–1408, the work being fully completed after Boucicaut returned home in 1410.¹ The range in the stylistic development may be clearly observed by comparing the early Dedication page on folio 23 verso with the later page showing Boucicaut kneeling before Saint Catherine. The evolution includes an increasing interest in individual or portrait characterization and "a development from primitive schematization to masterly command of volume and space."²

In the miniatures throughout this manuscript, there is an extraordinary expansion in the use of space, both in depth and complexity of construction. The Boucicaut Master builds upon and goes beyond the achievements in this direction seen in the painted altar wings by Melchior Broederlam of Ypres (active 1381–1409) which were installed at the Chartreuse de Champmol in 1399. This is borne out by the landscape miniatures, such as the precocious renditions of the Visitation and the Flight into Egypt (folios 65 verso and 90 verso) with their remarkable sense of distant light emerging within each

composition. Intricate architectural constructions, and commodious interior settings are almost without parallel in contemporary painting. The Annunciation and Nativity scenes are rendered in this way. The paraphernalia for these scenes, all of them traditional in subject, have grown in complexity and verisimilitude, as in such details as the wattle fence and the broken roof of the dilapidated shed in the Nativity (see reproduction opposite). At the same time, the Master is aware of the decorative demands of the book page and he fulfills these needs with decorative patterns, in textured walls, checker inlaid floors, and tesselated backgrounds. Also, the original intensity of the colors he used was due to his experiments with new agglutinants then coming into use in manuscript decoration. These added greatly to the luminosity of many colors.³

There are several specific pictorial devices which the Boucicaut Master utilized in this manuscript, some of which owe their invention entirely to him. One of these, discussed by Panofsky, is the use of an archway or door frame to set off the interior composition from the actual frame which further accentuated the sense of excerpted, interior depth as in the Vigils of the Dead (folio 142 verso). The Boucicaut Master, while not the inventor of empirical perspective, was one of its major proponents in the north. It will be remembered that Pucelle had already made great innovations in this direction based on Italian painting (see cat. no. V-15). Now the Boucicaut Master goes much further, and he completely avoids the occasional lapses into reverse perspective evident in some of Pucelle's work. The use of the open window or doorway with a glimpse of graduated sky beyond is peculiar to the Boucicaut Master at this time. Atmospheric perspective, while not invented by him either, was certainly used to very expressive ends. In short, and in spite of his love of fantasy, the Boucicaut Master was, according to Panofsky, "one of the

(Continued on page 380)

¹ Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), I, 55.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.



Ile-de-France, Paris, ca.1410,
by the Boucicaut Master

VI 30 *La Cité de Dieu*, by Saint Augustine, translated into French by
Raoul de Presles. Vellum, 272 leaves, H. 17, W. 12-1/2 inches.
Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, W.770.

The Boucicaut Master must have been in charge of a large workshop because of the extensive number of manuscripts which seem to have come from it. While the range in quality varies, the present work and the two that follow (cat. nos. VI-31, 32) are exceptionally fine, and some miniatures in them may be by the Master's own hand.

The Walters' manuscript provides a good display of all of the artistic interests mentioned in relation to his masterpiece (cat. no. VI-29), despite the reduction in scale of the miniatures which are here all the width of one column of text. The colors are more freshly preserved and give an excellent opportunity to observe the luminosity mentioned previously. Also, the intriguing interiors and the exquisite landscape settings are beautifully continued but in a more modest and less grandiose way. The scene of Cain killing Abel (folio 60) is an example of this, as well as of the dramatic color used by the Master himself, notable by the contrast of the lavender

robe of Cain, who is repeated twice, with the blue tunic of Abel. The atmospheric perspective, graded sky, and characteristic trees are also features of this fine miniature. The Nativity scene (folio 139 verso) utilizes the basic compositional essentials of the comparable miniatures in the "Boucicaut Hours." Again we can savor the fresh intensity of the colors—the blue robe of the Virgin, the red bed cover, the lavender-blue of Joseph's tunic with gold cape, the green trees, and the white-gray bed canopy. These colors, in harmony and brilliant contrast, are used in nearly all of the eleven miniatures in the present work. The Depiction of Hell scene is one exception to this brilliant color palette. In this case, in which deep reds and blues, and the gray-olive green of the Hell mouth contrast with the warm ivory flesh tones of the tiny figures, we perceive an over-all luminous yet russet complexion to the miniature.

Lar quelle prouidence de la dispensation
ordenance de dieu les saintes escriptures
ancien testament ayent estre translaters
ebrei en language grec a fin que elles
auissent a toutes gens et que elles re-
sent a leur cognissance. **xli.**

De lauctorite des lxx. interpreteurs lesquels
me lonneur de la langue lebree est a pre-
ter a tous autres interpreteurs. **xliii.**
Nuelle chose est a entendre de la destruction
de nymphe. la quelle felonc les lebreeur
denoncie. **xl.** iours avant. Et les lxx.
ut quel ny or que trois iours dinter-
ne entre la denonciatio et la destruction. **xliii.**
Nue apres ce que le temple fu rediffic le-
ss noient aucuns prophetez. Et que de
uisques a la natuure de nre sauveur ille-
rist. il furent tourmentes de continue
aduersites a fin que len peult promouer
la voix des prophetez q ledification
n autre temple estoit promise. **xlvi.**
De la natuure de nre sauveur ihesuist
en ce que la parolle fu faute chre. Et la
perdition des iudees en toutes gens felonc
nul auoit este prophete. **xlvi.**

Savoir se avant le temps de nre seigneur
suarist. furent aucuns gens hors de la
meilleure maison qui appartenist a la co-
ngne de la celestieuse iherusalem. **xlvi.**

Nue la propheteie de agens par la quel-
le dist que la gloire de la maison de dieu
estoit a aduerse levoit plus grande q
e nauoit este premierement fu accom-
plie en leglise de nre sauveur ihesuist.
i0 pas en la redification du temple. **xlviii.**

Tl incertamine multiplication de legi-
en la quelle plusieurs manuas sont:
esles avecques les bons e ce siecle. **xli.**
Et la predication de l'evangile laquelle
est faitte plus deur et plus puissant par
passions de ceulz qui la presedoyent. **1.**
Nue aussi par les dissensions des lebreeur
son catholique sont confermee. **11.**

Came ne deuoit point demourer oultre. **12.**
et. **13.** ans. **13.**

Ep fine la table du xvii^e lune de la cite
de dieu. et commence le dit. xviii^e lune.



Les choses qui sont disputees es. **xvii^e** li-
nres precedens usques au temps de no-
tre sauveur ihesuist. Premier chap^e. **1.**

Il promis a escapre de la naissance
du cours et fuis dehues des deure a-
res. Desquelles lune est de dieu. et
l'autre est de ce siecle. En la quelle
ceste est aussi pleine en tant cõ
tul appartient a la lignee des hommer
apres ce que iauoye premierement deboute
a la aide de dieu les ennemis de la cite de dieu.
qui mettoient leurs dieux auant ihesuist
a creator de celle cite. Et qui par leur tre-
manuaise enuy ont enuy sur les cretins.
la quelle chose iay faitte es dix volumes pre-
cedens. **T**apis de este moys promesse q
iay record maientenant la quelle est partie
en trois. iay demene la naissance de ces. **1.**
ates es quatre lunes subsequeus. **T**apis

Ile-de-France, Paris, ca.1415,
Boucicaut atelier

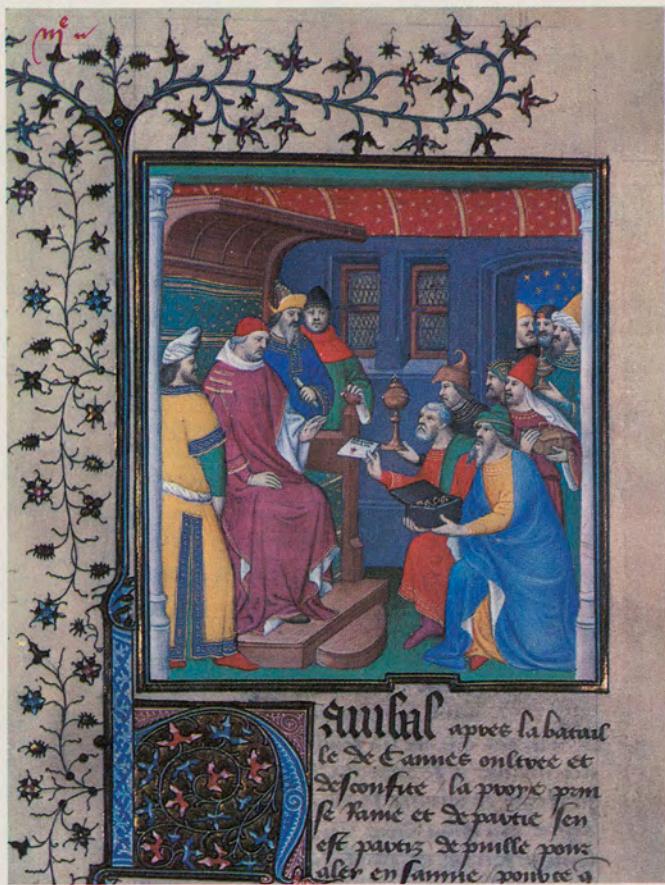
VI 31 *Les Decades*, by Livy, Books xxi–xxx, in French. Vellum, 192
leaves, H. 16-1/2, W. 12-1/4 inches. Cambridge (Massachusetts),
Harvard University, Houghton Library, Richardson MS.32, vol. II.

According to Millard Meiss, the two volumes of Livy's *Les Decades* in the Richardson collection at Harvard did not originally belong together.¹ They do not show the same script and they clearly differ in size and illumination. Professor Meiss feels that volume II is from the Boucicaut atelier, datable circa 1415, and is earlier than volume I (which is not shown here). The text is the French translation of Pierre Berceure made for Jean II le Bon, King of France. The proliferation of such

works indicates a new interest in secular literature, especially ancient history, as in Livy's Roman history.

The painting is highly finished and luminous in color. In keeping with the subjects, many miniatures are constructed very densely with fantastic architectural views of fortified cities, tightly composed battle scenes, and clustered tents in wooded and hilly landscapes. At the beginning of this volume is a large half-page frontispiece which is eloquent evidence of a major artist's hand. This is a masterpiece of color, modeling, draftsmanship, and composition.

¹ Letter from Millard Meiss, dated July 5, 1966.



Hambl apres la bataille de Cambray onltre et desconfut la poys rom le Rame et de partie sen est partiz de omme pour aler en Sannie pourve a



Ci commence le second liue de la seconde deade
a appurissoit la cause
pour laquelle hambl estoit
oquant sonbe par le temps
les meraulx temes lespnes
apres ce qml se fit effacez p
celles grans froidnes trespass
per anemum il demoura en sonbe et en vil

Ile-de-France,
Paris, ca.1410–1415,
Boucicaut atelier

VI 32 *Book of Hours*, in Latin, for Paris use. Vellum, 209 leaves, H. 9-7/8,
W. 6-7/8 inches. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS.469.

When comparing the style of the Bedford Master with that of the Boucicaut Master, the late Jean Porcher remarked that the latter "used line to sharpen his modelling; his work was more elegant but also drier, less atmospheric; and he was not afraid to use raw, even acid colors."¹ Porcher cited the present manuscript as an example of the Boucicaut Master's more elegant but drier style. The Annunciation page (folio 13) is an especially fine instance of the Boucicaut Master's refinement rendered partly by intense color. In addition, it shows the margin filled with small scenes, a feature more generally

¹ Jean Porcher, *French Miniatures from Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1960), p. 69.

associated with the Bedford Master. This feature, also notable in the Visitation, Nativity (folios 38, 50), and subsequent pages, is rendered with brilliant luminosity echoing the central scene.

The two mediocre paintings by an English artist and a prayer in English written beside the original Latin one (folio 137 verso) indicate that the manuscript was in England at an early date. The manuscript's contents are typical of the hours of the period and contain the Office of the Virgin, a Prose in Honor of the Holy Face, Hours of the Virgin for Paris use, Psalms of Penitence, Office of the Holy Cross, Fifteen Joys of the Virgin, and Office of the Dead.



Ca.1418,
by the Rohan Master

VI 33 *Hours of Yolande of Anjou*, formerly called the *Rohan Hours*,
in Latin, for Paris use. Vellum, 239 leaves, H. 11-1/2,
W. 8-1/4 inches. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 9471.

Yolande of Aragon, wife of Louis II, King of Sicily and Duke of Anjou, was an astute and fortunate lady. She acquired the Belles Heures illuminated by the Limbourg Brothers (cat. no. VI-28) for 300 *livres* when it had been evaluated at 700 for the executors of the Duke of Berry's estate. The fact that her husband was one of the executors may have secured this happy outcome for her.

The late Jean Porcher described Yolande as a lady of discriminating taste who maintained in her service an active atelier of book illuminators.¹ She is known to have commissioned Books of Hours, probably for both her daughter Yolande and her second son René (now Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 62 and Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 1156A). The present manuscript, according to Porcher, may have been intended for her eldest son Louis, heir to Anjou and Sicily after Louis II's death in 1417. This manuscript gives abundant evidence of intimate familiarity with the Belles Heures which Yolande had purchased, and also some passing knowledge of certain details in the Très Riches Heures, whose later ownership is uncertain. The compositional motifs utilized from the former include: the Virgin and Child in the Court of Heaven, many figures from the Occupations of the Months, the Visitation, the miniature of Saint George and another of Saint Martin, the Office of the Dead, and the seated Virgin seen from the back—a motif which the Limbourg Brothers used in their Flight into Egypt miniature. Certain other details were repeated from a second manuscript in the library of Yolande of Anjou, a Bible Historiée, which probably had been decorated by an Italian painter at the behest of Louis, her husband. Porcher reasonably concludes that "with two books from the library of Anjou copied in the Heures de Rohan by artists in Yolande's service, no further proof seems to be needed that these are, by rights, Heures d'Anjou," instead of "Heures de Rohan," a title derived by subsequent ownership which caused a change in the coats of arms. However, the Rohan name has been so long associated with this very great

manuscript, that there is a general consensus to retain the name of the master who produced the larger and finest miniatures in the present work as the "Rohan Master," and his workshop is still called the "Rohan atelier."

Porcher became interested in the origins and early work of the Master. By comparison with Catalan and Languedocian manuscripts akin to Yolande's own background as a daughter of Aragon, Porcher suggested that the Rohan Master may himself have come from one of these areas. One of the manuscripts in which Porcher saw this kinship is included in the exhibition (cat. no. VI-5). Porcher noted a similarity in the use of tense attitudes, anguished faces, naked, emaciated bodies, and skies sprinkled with angels. Before giving free reign to his natural talents and artistic emotions under the sympathetic patronage of Yolande, begun in 1414, the Rohan Master must have worked in Paris in the first years of the century on projects shared with two artists who later became influential heads of flourishing shops of their own—the Boucicaut Master and the Bedford Master.

Under Yolande and perhaps before, the Rohan Master began to produce a series of Books of Hours for which he had the help of his own atelier. That the members of this workshop were not equally gifted is evident in the range of quality in the decoration of the Rohan Hours itself. However, several very gifted helpers trained in his technique provided the Master with extra pairs of hands, so to speak. The work for Yolande, in this shop supervised by the Rohan Master, must have at first been executed in Paris. Only later were the final works produced at Angers, where the workshop had moved.

According to Porcher, the Rohan Hours was probably produced in Paris, circa 1418. In this single manuscript more than any other, the Rohan Master proved himself to be a great draftsman as well as a gifted colorist, as especially evident in the dramatic use of blues, pinks, reds, greens, and mottled flesh tones. Unbending in the face of current Paris fashions, the Rohan Master produced miniatures expressive of melancholy, occasional deeply-felt anguish, and other
(Continued on page 380)

¹ Jean Porcher, *The Rohan Book of Hours* (London, 1959), p. 5.



Ca.1425,
atelier of the Rohan Master

VI 34 *The de Buz Book of Hours*, in Latin and French, for Paris use.
Vellum, 197 leaves, H. 9-1/4, W. 6-3/4 inches. Cambridge,
(Massachusetts), Harvard University, Houghton Library, Richardson, MS.42.

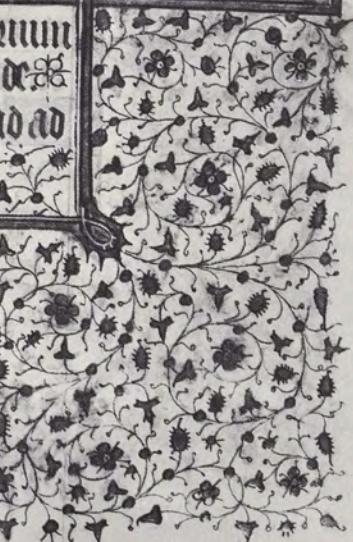
This handsome volume contains many of the usual textual features for a fifteenth-century Book of Hours including a Calendar, sequences of the Gospels, Hours of the Virgin, of the Cross, of the Holy Ghost, as well as the Penitential Psalms, the Litanies, the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin (in French), Seven Requests (in French), Vigils of the Dead, the Passion according to Saint John, *Obsecro te', Je te salve, Maria* (in French), and the Suffrages.¹ Eighty-two miniatures appear on thirty-one pages—two on each of the calendar pages (one missing), and three on each of the twenty illuminated pages which make the frontispieces to different sections of the text.

Erwin Panofsky has pointed out that a close thematic connection exists between the present manuscript and the Hours in the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, and another, divided between the Bibliothèque Arsenal and Princeton University Library. Each is a product of the Rohan atelier, completed after the work on the Rohan Hours. Whereas the chronology of these subsidiary works is uncertain, the quality of the present work clearly supercedes that of the others. In addition, the de Buz Hours demonstrates a creative use of certain inventions of the Bedford and Boucicaut Masters, and like the Rohan Hours it also depends on certain compositional motifs in the Belles Heures illuminated by the Limbourg Brothers (cat. no. VI-28).

While many of the distortions, exaggerated proportions,

¹ See for a complete description of this manuscript, Erwin Panofsky, "The de Buz Book of Hours," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, III (Spring 1949), 163-182, repr.

wild movements, emotional tensions, and fanciful architectural settings seem to follow the Rohan Hours closely, and while several gifted hands may be detected in it, the de Buz Hours seems to lack the additional contributions of the very finest hand in the Rohan Hours, that of the Rohan Master himself. Granting this, the de Buz Hours may still be appreciated in its own right. The miniatures illustrating the Flight into Egypt (folio 67), the Coronation of the Virgin (folio 75), and two miniatures of the Virgin and Child (folios 151 and 155) are particularly beautiful. The second of these Virgin and Child representations is especially subtle in the modeling of pinks, whites, and blues in the flesh areas. As Erwin Panofsky has pointed out, this is a moving example "of those 'Pietà Madonnas' in which the sleep of the childhood prefigures the sleep of death" (see illustration). The colors of this manuscript are consistent throughout, although only rarely as subtle as the Pietà Madonna. The general emphasis is on dry blues, orange reds, pinks, and rose (especially evident in the architectural constructions). Also, there are whitish to yellowish greens which accent the grassy turf; strong white occurs in certain draperies with tan lines for modeling, and gold repeats throughout in the halos and in the patterned edges of draperies. The backgrounds are often blue with little squiggly clouds, or they are tesselated with red, blue, and gold. The marginal vines are pen-drawn with gold leaves, flowers, cones, and seed pods. This handsome manuscript, nearly uniform in its high level of quality, is clearly one of the best products of the Rohan Master's Paris atelier.



expiditum et
militaria dant
autem quippe
et regnare aut
et quibus sent
simile struam
ad euentum ma
nis adire vide
Domi



Conserue nos deus salu-
taus noster

Et auete uam tuam

us dñe obus meis
dñm nram et
uichi dñm et lma
t lanae rationem
uidas et suscipias
nra m dñi tubu
audi me dulastie
i mater dñi et mi
ueri

na gracia plesia
us tecum benedicta
ribus et benedictus
tus tui ihesu



mater dei. I te sa
lue maria. Aqui
dñi son fili mani a



The contents of this manuscript include: a Calendar, Hours of the Virgin, Penitential Psalms, Litany, Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Ghost, Office of the Dead, Fifteen Joys of the Virgin, Seven Requests, and Prayer to the Cross, which in combination identify the volume as a very typical fifteenth-century Book of Hours. In fact only three of the twenty-two miniatures give this manuscript a special interest. These three miniatures, like the others by different, less gifted hands, are surrounded by elaborate acanthus tendrils in which are set small vignettes, many either rendered in a shorthand technique or left unfinished. The best work of all can be seen in the miniature depicting the Marriage of the Virgin (folio 30 verso). The unknown artist has succeeded in depicting a crowd of elegantly garbed celebrants, all standing within a Gothic portico seen in three-quarter view. The costumes, ornaments, accessories, and a lavish use of gold, establish this miniature as a worthy heir to the style of both the Bedford Master and the Limbourg Brothers. The architecture in three-quarter view particularly recalls the Limbourg Brothers' miniature of the Annunciation in the *Très Riches Heures* (26 recto), which was certainly the present artist's model. Even the angel choir on the parapet above is taken from the Limburgs' composition. The architecture turned at a three-quarter angle seems to have had an international patrimony leading perhaps back from Zebo da Firenze (cat. no. vi-25) and Melchior Broederlam to Taddeo Gaddi's fresco of the Rejection of Joachim's Sacrifice of circa 1338 in Santa Croce, Florence.¹ The present miniature is not merely imitative of this tradition, but alters it, giving it even greater opulence. The architecture is painted a light blue and the assembled figures have a jewel-like sparkle of pure blues, reds, orange, white and gold. An underpainting of warm ochres and greens beneath the flesh tones of the male heads gives them a singular authority and strength. The head at the left has such individuality that we might wonder whether the portrait of a

rich prince attending the wedding of a member of his family is the motivating subject of the miniature.

The second miniature depicts successive episodes of the story of David and Bathsheba (folio 98 verso). It is completed in a manner especially suggestive of the Bedford Master, who often delighted in the panoramic landscape with a high horizon, cut with deep ravines, and set with occasional episodes of a multi-sequenced story. Uriah takes leave of Bathsheba while the elderly king with his harp peers through the window. At the left King David receives a messenger with the news of Uriah's death. In the distant hills above, the penitent David kneels, gazing upon the Lord within the arc of heaven, as an angel flies forth with a sword. The marginal vignettes, a device of the Bedford atelier, depict the Virtues and Vices: the upper left corner begins with Humility, and moving counterclockwise, follows Pride, Patience with Wrath, Charity with Gluttony, Chastity with Lust, Faith with Infidelity, Avarice, Temperance or Fortitude, and Faith with Despair in the upper right corner. The pure colors of these tiny figures make their symbolism all the more apparent. The page is dominated, however, by the opulence of the central miniature and its larger areas of pure color—reds, blues, greens, and especially whites—together with accents and details in gold. It is no wonder that Erwin Panofsky once attributed this fine work to the Bedford Master himself; the qualitative interest is very great.²

The third miniature, the Annunciation (folio 31) is not as fine as the other two because the heads of the Virgin and the Angel are very weakly indicated. They may not be finished. The architecture is comparable in its elegance with that of the first miniature, although here the fantasy is carried further with a series of delicate gabled arcades which frame the porch where the Angel of the Annunciation kneels. The Virgin herself kneels under a larger arch at the right, apparently at (Continued on page 381)

¹ See William D. Wixom, "The Hours of Charles the Noble," *CMA Bulletin*, LII (March 1965), 59.

² Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), I, note 613.



Possibly Arras, ca.1430–1450

VI 36 *Tapestry Panel with Winged Stags.* Wool and silk threads, H. 137, W. 149-5/8 inches. Inscriptions: [Center] *Cest estandart est une enseigne/Qui aloial francois enseigne/De jamais ne la bandonner/Sil ne veult son/bonneur donner.* [Left] *Armes porte tres glorieuses/Et sur toutes victorieuses.* [Right] *Si nobles na dessoubz les cieulx/Je ne pourraye porter mieulx.* Rouen (Seine-Maritime), Musée des Antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure.

A majestic winged stag rests within a wattle-fenced enclosure. He supports with his bent foreleg a great rose-colored banner decorated with gold sunbursts and depicting Saint Michael in white armor vanquishing the dragon. Two more winged stags, one on each side of the first, wear crown-like collars of gold with *fleurs-de-lis* from which are hung small blue shields also decorated with gold *fleurs-de-lis*. A blue shield with the same motif rests against the fence in the foreground flanked by rampant lions. Three involved banderoles present short verses in Gothic script. Iris (the *fleur-de-lis* in nature) and other plants may be seen flowering in the foreground and within the enclosure. The scene is partially surrounded by a lush foliate background dominated by a hedge of blooming roses. Above and beyond are glimpses of rocks and hillocks with a turreted castle on either side. At the upper left a distant boat in full sail sets out to sea beneath a cumulous sky.

This seemingly idyllic scene overlaid with feudal and heraldic references might easily lend itself to romantic flights of fantasy. Certainly it has been the subject of scholarly misinterpretation and misdating ever since its foresighted purchase for the Musée des Antiquités at Rouen in the 1890's. The heraldic devices had not been clearly determined until Paul Martin published a short definitive study on the tapestry in 1947.¹ Contrary to earlier assumptions, the tapestry cannot be identified with a hanging described in the inventory of Louis XIV. Instead, Martin traces the use of the devices and colors on the personal standards of several French kings since the great Valois king Charles V and as a result is able to focus more surely on one particular sovereign, Charles VII of France, who reigned from 1422 to 1461. In 1419 and while still the Dauphin, the future king is recorded as having had made two standards with Saint Michael overcoming the dragon. This personal emblem is combined in the present tapestry with repeated gold sunbursts, adapted from a device

¹ Paul Martin, "La tapisserie royale des 'Cerfs-Volants,'" *Bulletin monumental*, CV (1947), 197–208.

favored by his father Charles VI (d. 1422). A winged stag, used by Charles V, is the focal point of the entire composition. Martin also tells us that Charles VII used Saint Michael and the sunburst motif together with his colors at the time of his solemn entrances into Paris in 1438 and into Rouen in 1449. The armor of Saint Michael could date a little earlier, circa 1430–1440. The roses indicate still another emblem of Charles VII. Martin singles out as evidence for several of these devices the Fouquet miniature in a Boccaccio manuscript in Munich which represents the *Lit de justice de Charles VII* of 1458 and which shows a great room decorated with red, white, and green banded hangings garnished with scattered white and red roses and dominated by two pairs of huge, white, and winged stags with gold crown-collars rimmed with *fleurs-de-lis*. Each pair of stags supports a blue shield similar to those seen in the Rouen tapestry.

Martin also interprets the inscriptions and the symbolism of the tapestry as either prophetic of the events of 1436–1440 or a commemoration of them. Paris was liberated finally from the English in 1436 and Charles's entry into the capital of Ile-de-France may be indicated by the stags which occupy the enclosure and by the stag about to step over the barrier. Martin suggests that this might also be a veiled allusion to the formation of a unified royal army, victorious under Charles VII in 1439. The departing boat may represent a wishful thought of Charles for the departure of his English enemies.

The tapestry is valuable beyond such historical and symbolic speculations. It is a masterpiece of composition and it implies the draftsmanship of a very great anonymous artist who must have supplied the now-lost cartoon. In general, the tapestry reflects the taste and interest of a generation of artists used to consider nature studies in sketchbooks as probably first introduced by the North Italians.² The stags are (Continued on page 382)

² Otto Pächt, "Early Italian Nature Studies and the Early Calendar Landscape," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIII (1950), 13 ff.



CHAPTER SEVEN

Late Gothic Art

Burgundy, mid-15th century

VII 1 *Saint Christopher*. Limestone, H. 31 inches. Provenance: Found near Saint Bénigne at Dijon. Saint Louis, City Art Museum, 3.34.

Found near Saint Bénigne in Dijon, this fragment of a life-size Saint Christopher is important as a monumental culmination of the style and influence of Claus Sluter in Burgundy. The full wavy beard, the wrinkled face, and the massive torso are features which recall Sluter's masterpieces created for Philip the Bold at the Chartreuse de Champmol. However, the present work shows certain crucial new elements which announce a new phase in Gothic sculpture, generally called late Gothic. These new elements include the stiff, crackling, angular draperies, and the linearism of many details, as in the beard and hair. Also the naturalistic interests of Sluter are intensified in many details such as the veins on the left hand.

Remnants of the Christ Child on both of the giant Saint's shoulders, plus the upheld right arm, provide clues to the original appearance of the group. The Saint leaned on his staff held by this arm; his left hand must have held up his robe, bunched at the waist, to avoid the swirling river which must have been represented below. His head is tipped towards the growing burden on his shoulder. The Saint, however, monu-

mental and involved in contrapposto movement, is expressive of a certain pensive melancholy and quiet dignity.

An approximate date can be suggested in relation to a sculptural representation of the Holy Sepulcher in the Hospital of Tonnere carved between 1451 and 1453, a work by Jean Michel and Georges de la Sonnette.¹ This comparison, suggested by Meyric R. Rogers, reveals a common monumentality, a similar sense of movement combined with emotional dignity and realistic sculptural detail. For those interested in Netherlandish and German sculpture of the late Gothic period, and as suggested by Theodor Müller,² the present work prefigures what is to come in those areas, especially in the works of Nikolaus Gerhaert von Leyden, who was also influenced by Sluter.

¹ Marcel Aubert, *La sculpture française au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1946), p. 379 repr.

² Letter from Theodor Müller, Director, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, September 16, 1953.



Touraine, mid-15th century

VII 2 *Mourning Virgin from a Crucifixion Group.* Walnut, H. 42-3/4 inches. Provenance: Abbey of Beaugerais (Indre-et-Loire).
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1916.

The Virgin stands mute, head bowed and covered by her heavy mantle, one end of which is caught up beneath her crossed hands. She wears a wimple which hangs over her tunic-like dress tied at the waist by a belt. Her silent grief is almost palpable. She once stood, monumental and with rustic force, at the side of a lost cross formerly at the Abbey of Beaugerais (Indre-et-Loire). The mourning Saint John is now in the Louvre. Nearly all traces of the original polychromy have disappeared from both figures.

It is possible that the sculptor was directly inspired by nature, which would explain the realism of the face and

hands, yet there is a parallelism with the heavy monumentality of the drapery which is occasionally seen in the paintings of Jean Fouquet¹ or the Master of Aix. The angularity of the folds may reflect Flemish influence into the Touraine, while the general massiveness is comparable to some late Burgundian works. Certain details of the sleeves and tunic are similar to the Burgundian Saint Christopher (cat. no. VII-1).

¹ Paul Vitry, "Quelques bois sculptés de l'école tourangelle du XV^e siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3 Per., xxxi (1904), 116.



Ca.1450

VII 3 *Saint Anthony, Armorial Hanging of the Chancellor Rolin.* Tapestry,
wool, H. 70, W. 103 inches. Beaune (Côte-d'Or), Hôtel Dieu.

One of thirty-one tapestry hangings, of which thirty still exist at Beaune, this Armorial Hanging was ordered around 1450 by Nicolas Rolin, Chancellor of Burgundy, and his wife Guigone de Salins, for use on solemn feast days as bed screens for the sick in the Hôtel-Dieu which they had founded at Beaune. The present hanging, like the others in the series, has a rose background with stars and turtledoves alternating with an interlaced N and G and the device: *seulle*. At the four

corners are the arms of Nicolas Rolin and Guigone de Salins. The figure of Saint Anthony stands in the middle. The style of drawing of the Saint's physiognomy presupposes a cartoon design in the tradition of Paris illumination in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, especially that of the waning Bouicaut and Bedford workshops. The place of the weaving of this tapestry has never been determined. Excepting Beaune itself, Arras is a likely candidate.



Touraine, ca.1452–1460,
by Jean Fouquet, ca.1415/20–1481

VII 4 *Miniature showing Saint Veranus, Bishop of Cavaillon, Curing the Sick.* Vellum sheet, H. 8-5/8, W. 5-3/4 inches. Provenance: Hours of Etienne Chevalier. New York, Wildenstein Foundation, Inc.

In its original state the Hours of Etienne Chevalier illuminated by Jean Fouquet must have been one of the half dozen or so most beautiful Books of Hours painted in the fifteenth century. Now it exists only in brutally clipped and excerpted miniatures, forty of which are preserved in the Musée Condé in Chantilly, two in the Louvre, one each in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the British Museum, three in the collection of Count Bearsted in England, one in the collection of Robert Lehman in New York, and the present one from the collection of the late Georges Wildenstein. Still missing are all of the calendar illustrations as well as a number of other miniatures thought to have existed in the original manuscript.

Etienne Chevalier was an important court official in the courts of both Charles VII and Louis XI. He was born in Melun. Fouquet painted his portrait with his patron saint, Saint Stephen, on the left wing of the altar diptych of Melun, now in Berlin. The Hours also included the patron's portrait: in one of two facing miniatures where he is shown kneeling before the Virgin and in the Entombment where he is shown kneeling at the feet of the dead Christ. Paul Wescher has

noted that in both cases these portraits represent the same man portrayed in the Melun altarpiece, and in each case the sitter seems to be about the same age as the others. Therefore the manuscript and the altarpiece can be dated at the same time, during the last years of Charles VII's reign.

The present miniature depicts Saint Veranus, Bishop of Cavaillon, curing the sick in a side aisle of Notre-Dame in Paris. Here Fouquet reveals that he had assimilated all of the lessons he had learned during his sojourn of 1443 to 1447 in Italy in space, in interior perspective, in the rendition of figures with mass and ponderosity within this space. We can recognize the shadowy interior of the great Parisian cathedral as it appears today. Because Fouquet presents a miracle in a life-like setting and in a naturalistic way in French settings and on French soil, his miniatures appear disarmingly simple and without effort. Yet his art is in reality deeper than simple, prosaic naturalism, for it is a poetic entity in which jewel-like color, luminosity, fluid line, deep space, and plasticity are the means of expression of a profound visual order and harmony.



O si osi confessoris huius solemnia celebremus generales cum summa leti-

Ca.1470,
close to Maître François

VII 5 *Miniature showing Queen Medusa Enthroned.* Vellum sheet, H. 5-1/8, W. 3-9/16 inches. Provenance: Boccaccio, *Des cleres et nobles femmes*, now Spencer MS.33, New York Public Library. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of J. H. Wade, 24.1015.

As given in Boccaccio's text, the Cleveland miniature shows Medusa as the beautiful, wise, and rich daughter of Phorcis. In the background her forces are defeated by Perseus. Eleanor P. Spencer has established that this small painting on vellum originally belonged to a copy of Boccaccio's *Des cleres et nobles femmes*, which is now in the Spencer collection in the New York Public Library (MS.33).¹ Between 1920 and 1924, this work and possibly three other miniatures seem to have been alienated from the manuscript after it had been sold from the collection of Lord Mostyn, perhaps while it was in the collection of Mme. Th. Belin in Paris. The index for the manuscript permits a reconstruction of the original location of the Cleveland miniature. It was the former folio xxii situated between the Erythrean sibyl (folio xxii) and Iole (folio xxiii), now also missing, and before Deianira (folio xxiv). The coat of arms in the Spencer manuscript was first identified by Denis Coster as that of Gilbert de La Fayette, seigneur de Saint-Romain, Maréchal de France under Charles VII. The sale catalogue for the collection of Mme. Belin suggested Claude de Vissac of Auvergne. More recently Miss Spencer proposed Jacques d'Armagnac, Duc de Nemours (d. 1476).²

Miss Spencer has shown that the miniature is stylistically related to the close associate of Maître François who illuminated the Cité de Dieu of the Bibliothèque municipale at Mâcon (MS.1-2).³ The localization of this work has not

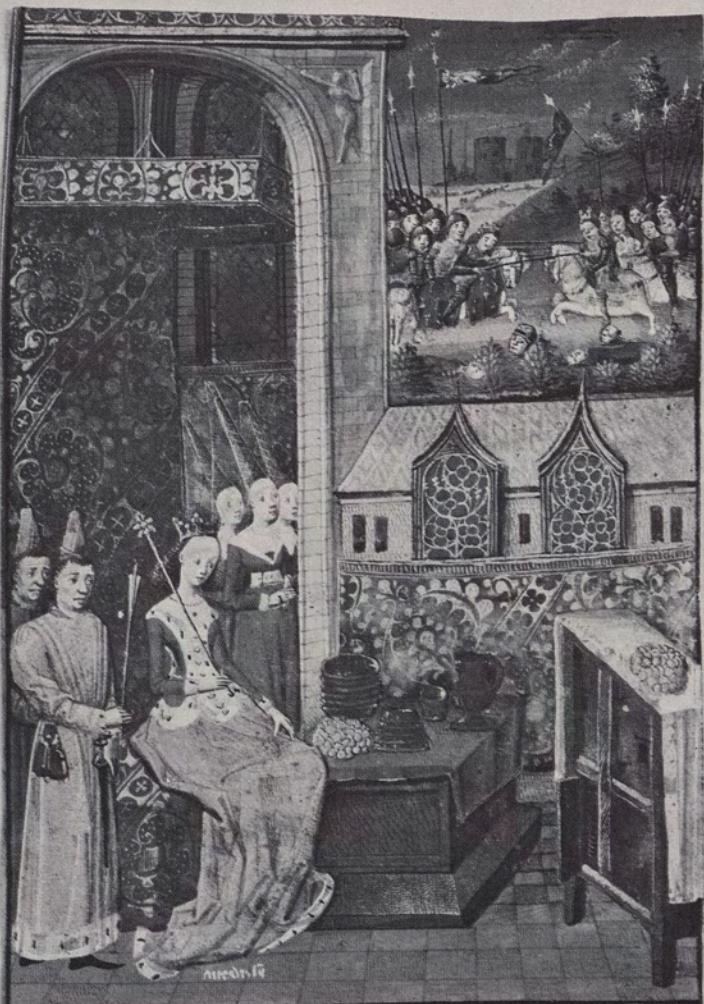
¹ Letter, Eleanor P. Spencer, March 22, 1965.

² Denis Coster, in *Le Figaro, supplément artistique*, December 20, 1928, p. 171. *Sale, Bibliothèque de Mme. Th. Belin* (Paris, 1936). Letter, Eleanor P. Spencer, March 22, 1965.

³ Comte A. de Laborde, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la Cité de Dieu* (Paris, 1909), II, 448 ff.

been fully determined. Comte de Laborde attributed the Mâcon manuscript to the Ile-de-France or to Normandy. A relationship with Fouquet and the school of Tours has been suggested.

In comparison with the preceding miniature by Fouquet (cat. no. VII-4), we can say that the two miniatures could not be more different. The Medusa continues the architectural excerpts, the glimpse of distant landscape, and the multiple episodes familiar to us in the work of the Parisian Bedford Master and his followers (cat. no. VI-35). The figures are also elegantly garbed, weightless and without volume. The composition is conceived in terms of successive screens, leading back and up into space as in the works of the Bedford circle, and as in tapestry designs as late as the early sixteenth century (see cat. nos. VII-22 through 25). The color and patterns are decorative and gay, and emphasize the surface of the miniature. The Fouquet miniature, by contrast, is preoccupied with deep continuous space—in this case the interior of Notre-Dame of Paris. Fouquet places his figures, which have mass and ponderosity, one behind the other. They are not simply overlapped low relief cut-outs. However, in fairness to the Medusa miniature, it should be recognized that it is a pleasing and harmonious example of the last flowering of book illumination in which the page of the book is respected. Fouquet, by his greatness as an artist, was able to break into the space of the page without destroying the quality of the book itself. The great Flemish Master of Mary of Burgundy also was successful in this, whereas the book illuminations of Jean Bourdichon (1457-1521), were only small panel paintings whose deep spaces were irreconcilable violations of the book page.



Burgundy, ca.1462,
by Antoine Le Moiturier,
Avignon 1425–Dijon 1497

VII 6 *Mourner*. Vizelle alabaster (Grenoble stone), H. 16-1/8 inches.
Provenance: Tomb of Duke John the Fearless, Chartreuse de Champmol near Dijon. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 40.129.

During his lifetime John the Fearless had hoped to have his tomb in the chapel of the Chartreuse de Champmol completed along the lines of his father's, Philip the Bold (cat. no. vi-21). However, the project lagged as John lost interest, and it was only after his murder on the bridge of Montereau in 1419 that his son, Philip the Good, attempted to finish the project. After many delays the work was not finally consummated until after 1462 when Antoine Le Moiturier, *yimaginator lapidum de Avinione*, the sculptor from Avignon, was summoned to finish the second tomb at Dijon. This artist was so successful in continuing the style and character of the earlier mourners by Claus Sluter and Claus de Werve, that today the two tombs seem in their entirety almost of the same period and style.

Closer examination of individual figures such as the present work by Antoine Le Moiturier reveals significant changes which betray the artist and relate his work to a later style. The heavy massive draperies and the upturned face are characteristics from the early period. The realism in details begun by Claus Sluter is continued, such as the fur lining of the Mourner's cloak and thrown-back cowl. However, the stiffer angularity of the folds, the greater emphasis on block-like mass, and the stereotyped expression of anguish on the face indicate a sense of objectivity more akin to that of the Master of Aix than to the eloquent and expressive art of Claus Sluter. There is a certain parallel in these respects with the Saint Christopher from Saint Louis (cat. no. VII-1). Antoine Le

Moiturier's Mourner, like a figure in a painting by Cézanne, is massive and powerful but emotionless.

The high esteem with which Antoine Le Moiturier was held shortly after his own time was indicated when Michel Colombe expressed his own wish to use the same stone for the tomb of Philibert de Savoie as that used by Master Claus and Master Antoine: . . . mesmement par maistre Claux et maistre Anthoniet, souverains tailleurz d'ymaiges, done je, Michiel Coulombe, ay autreffoy en la congoissance . . .¹ This was in 1511.

Curiously, the head, facial expression, direction of gaze, cut of the hair, and general pose of this Mourner do not follow any model at Dijon as directly as they do a pleurant from the tomb of the Duke de Berry, in the Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges, completed in the 1450's. The similarity, noticed by Pierre Pradel, presupposes either the existence of pattern drawings, or the possibility that Antoine Le Moiturier examined both the pleurants at Bourges and those at Dijon before he proceeded with his own task.²

¹ See Paul Vitry, *Michel Colombe et la sculpture française de son temps* (Paris, 1901), p. 489. William M. Milliken, "Two Pleurants from the Tombs of the Dukes of Burgundy," *CMA Bulletin*, xxv (October 1940), 120–121.

² See Pierre Pradel, "Nouveaux documents sur le tombeau de Jean de Berry, frère de Charles V," *Fondation E. Piot, Monuments et Mémoires*, XLVIX (1957), 152–154, figs. 11, 13 (a, b).



Northern France,
third quarter 15th century,
by Simon Marmion, ca. 1425–1489

VII 7 *Pietà*. Tempera on vellum, H. 4-3/4, W. 3-5/8 inches. Philadelphia,
John G. Johnson Collection, no. 343.

It is not certain whether this moving, intimate Pietà painted on a sheet of vellum was intended as an *image de chevet*—an object of private meditation and prayer hung within the curtained enclosure of the owner's bed—or whether it was a large miniature taken from a book of private devotions—a Book of Hours. It is in some ways similar to a miniature from a Book of Hours in the Munich National Museum (MS. 3005) in which the Virgin faces the live Christ, both half-length, in front of a window with a distant landscape.¹ This miniature from the workshop of Marmion still retains a portion of its painted frame of apostles in niches.

The present work is especially beautiful for its ivory tonality offset by soft blues and gold in the background. Line gives an incisive limit to form and in its variation helps to model form. The shadows in the angular drapery folds and the undulations of flesh are given by subtle gradations. The figures are large and close; all of the iconographical necessities are clearly shown.

¹ Friedrich Winkler, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich, 1923), I, figs. 274, 275.

This small masterpiece, while admittedly dependent on Flemish painting, is peculiarly French in its light palette and its delicate eggshell finish. The painter was probably Simon Marmion, who is thought to have been born at Amiens, where he is mentioned as a gilder and polychromist between 1449 and 1454. Known to have completed a figure of Christ for the City Hall of Amiens the last year he was there, he subsequently went to Lille, where in 1455 he finished a large retable representing the story of Saint Bertin, two shutters of which are thought to be in the Berlin Museum. Later in life he worked mainly at Valenciennes from 1458 until his death in 1489. During part of this time he was one of the chief miniaturists in the atelier presided over by Jean Mansel, an editor and translator, as well as the author of *La Fleur des Histoires*. With his extraordinary gift as a master of color, Simon Marmion was referred to as *le prince d'enluminure*. One of his masterpieces in this medium is *Le Livre des sept âges du monde* (circa 1460) now in the Brussels Royal Library (MS. 9047).²

² See L. M. J. Delaissé, *Miniatures médiévales de la librairie de Bourgogne au Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* (Geneva, 1959), pp. 152–155, pl. 35.



Touraine, ca.1465,
by Jean Fouquet, ca.1415/20–1481

VII 8 *Portrait of an Ecclesiastic.* Silverpoint on prepared paper, H. 7-13/16,
W. 5-1/4 inches. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 49.38.

The inscription in the upper right corner of this silverpoint drawing reads: *Ung Roumain legat de nostre St pere en france.* Contemporary to the drawing, it is thought to refer to the sitter, a papal legat. In the 1904 catalogue for the Paris exhibition of French primitives, Henri Bouchot tentatively identified the sitter as Teodoro Lelli, Bishop of Treviso. In 1464 at age 40, Bishop Lelli accompanied the Bishop of Ostia on a mission to Louis xi of France. The drawing was attributed to Jean Fouquet by Georges Hulin de Loo at the time of the Paris exhibition. A copy of this drawing in red chalk is in the Royal Library at Windsor.

A comparison is generally made with a crayon drawing in the Berlin Museum of the head of Guillaume Juvénal des Ursins, which is a sketch for the painting in the Louvre. Pierre Lavallée cautiously questioned the attribution of the present drawing to Fouquet and Klaus Perls stressed its difference from other drawings given to Fouquet, considering its great refinement advanced beyond that of the master. Charles Sterling has suggested that the technique—precise and delicate

silverpoint on prepared ground—was sufficiently different to explain the divergence from the other drawings, while the spiritual interpretation and details completely agree with Fouquet's style, known not only in drawings but also in his painted portraits. In more recent publications the drawing of a papal legat has been universally accepted as a masterpiece from Fouquet's own hand.

The drawing combines a monumentality and idealism, perhaps inspired by his earlier sojourn in Italy. It also shows a penetrating eye for essentials. By nuances of shading, cross-hatching, and incisive line, Fouquet delineates a purposeful man of affairs who gazes intently at some undisclosed object, his lips pressed in firm determination. The strength of this drawing and its depiction of the whole man designate it as a precocious document of the Renaissance in late Gothic France. Its scrutiny of a personality is in bold contrast to the late Gothic spirit of a portrait of a Burgundian Nobleman painted some twenty-five years later (see cat. no. VII-21).



PH

Bourbonnais, ca.1480,
attributed to Michel Colombe,
ca.1430-ca.1511

VII 9 *Duke John II of Bourbon.* Sandstone, H. 11-1/4 inches. Provenance:
Sainte-Chapelle de Bourbon-l'Archambault. Baltimore, The
Walters Art Gallery, 27.510.

The late Martin Weinberger related this small kneeling figure to the tradition begun by Claus Sluter in his kneeling portrait of Philip the Bold on the portal to the chapel at the Chartreuse de Champmol, and continued in the kneeling figure at Bourges of John, Duke of Berry, carved a little later by Jean de Cambrai.¹ While these two figures are quite different sculpturally, they do represent an iconographic type which the present sculpture continues.

The draperies hang loosely about the figure from the shoulders, breaking in slightly angular folds at the front of the base, with longer lines and folds over the bent legs and feet at the back and sides. These draperies, while not clinging to the figure itself, do reveal it in a fashion not to be found either in Burgundian sculpture or in the work of Jean de Cambrai. Dr. Weinberger observed a similar pattern of draperies in the funerary effigies by Jacques Morel from Lyons of Charles I of Bourbon and Agnes of Burgundy, one of the great sculptural treasures of the Church at Souvigny. The firmness of the modeling also recalls the portraits at Souvigny, according to Weinberger. The latter identified the Walters figure as the son of Charles I, Duke John II of Bourbon, on the basis of a family likeness. This identification is confirmed to a certain extent by the tradition which states that the Walters figure was found at the castle of Bourbon-l'Archambault, the former seat of the Bourbon family a short distance from Souvigny and from Moulins, the capital of the duchy of Bourbon. The head of the Walters figure resembles that of the second male portrait at Souvigny, which Weinberger identi-

fied also as John II because of the chain of the order of Saint Michel which it bears.

Professor Weinberger suggested that the present figure was carved as a model by a sculptor close to Jacques Morel for a lost figure of the Duke which may have been intended as a supplement to the Sainte-Chapelle, founded in 1311 at Bourbon-l'Archambault. The ensemble may have been iconographically similar to the Notre-Dame-la-Blanche with the kneeling portraits of the Duke of Berry and his wife which had been carved earlier at Bourges by Jean de Cambrai. The present work was not a sculptor's working model, but a rare if not unique model for the patron which would give him an idea of the character of the project prior to its commencement.

More recently Pierre Pradel has reconsidered this identification in his book on Michel Colombe.² Pradel noted that a description by Jean Auberg of 1604 records that a relic of the true cross was preserved in the small crypt of the Sainte-Chapelle of Bourbon. With this was a stone cross mounted on an altar at the foot of which was inscribed: *Jean de Bourbon et Jeanne de France sa femme sont à genoux.* Pradel identified the Walters statuette with one of these *priants*, or kneeling figures, and he relates it to the tradition of Burgundian sculpture emulated by Antoine Le Moiturier, the nephew of Jacques Morel. Dating the present work around 1480, Pradel attributes it to the traveling sculptor, Michel Colombe, who also worked in the Bourbonnais, and who at that time was very much influenced by this Burgundian tradition.

¹ Martin Weinberger, "A French Model of the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, IX (1946), 9-21.

² Pierre Pradel, *Michel Colombe* (Paris, 1953), pp. 25-27, 30, pl. III.



Limoges, end of 15th century,
by Master of the Orléans Triptych

VII 10 *Triptych with the Annunciation, David and Isaiah.* Painted enamel on copper, H. 7-7/8, W. 13-1/8 inches (including frame). Orléans (Loiret), Musée historique.

This Triptych gives its name to a very gifted anonymous master of painted Limoges enamels active at the end of the fifteenth century. The productions of this master followed after the relatively coarse work of the so-called Monvaerni atelier, an example of which may be seen in the permanent collection of the Cleveland Museum (acc. no. 42.565). J. J. Marquet de Vasselot has devoted a chapter of his book on late Limoges enamels to the master of the present Triptych and works given to his hand.¹

The central plaque depicts the Annunciation under a flamboyant Gothic arch; the two wings present the figures of David and Isaiah under similar arches, and identified by their inscriptions: DAVID DESCEND[et] DO[minus] SIC[u]T PLVIA and ECCE. VIRGO. CONCIPET. ISAYAS. The technique of painted enamel was made possible by enameling both sides of the copper plaque before firing. This process came into use during the second half of the fifteenth century. Jean Fouquet is thought to have experimented with this technique. Examples attributed to him are in the Louvre and the Berlin Museum.

The present work is remarkable for its rich, earthy colors, accenting deep blues, rich browns, dull lavenders, intense greens, and white shaded with gray. Highlights and hatchings are in gold. The intense expressiveness is due to not only the artist's color but also his vivid sense of figurative move-

¹ J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Les émaux limousins de la fin du XV^e siècle et de la première partie du XVI^e* (Paris, 1921), pp. 80-94.

ment and dramatic gesture coupled with a tendency to distorted facial expressions. The result is that the decorous, gaily colored and elegant Annunciation of the International Style has been abandoned in favor of a violently movemental one in rich, earthy colors, in which the hovering Angel and the kneeling Virgin completely fill the Virgin's tiny room. This work, especially in its costumes and architectural details, is part of the realistic tendency found in so much French art in the later fifteenth century. However, this is not simply realism, because the artist is preoccupied in infusing as much drama and movement as he can into a traditional subject.

Marvin Ross, when publishing several other enamels by this master, suggested that he might also have been an illuminator. Ross cited a stylistically related Book of Hours in the Art Institute of Chicago which was painted at Limoges and which was intended for use there.² Other evidence, presented by Ross, suggests the probability that many artists who first engaged in producing painted enamels were once illuminators. As the year 1500 approached, their former livelihood was partially replaced by the invention of printing. Ross concluded that, in addition to the alternative work of coloring woodcut prints, the miniaturists also took up the lucrative task of producing painted enamel triptychs and other devotional objects.

² Marvin Chauncey Ross, "Master of the Orléans Triptych," *Journal of The Walters Art Gallery*, IV (1941), 15 ff.



Ca.1490

VII 11 *Lady with Three Suitors*. Pen and brown ink and ink wash on paper.
H. 9-1/16, W. 7-5/8 inches. Inscription: *Celui mamour conquestera/
qui deca ce lass passera/Sanss lempirer ne desnouer/sanss dessuss/ne dessoubz
passer*. The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 56.40.

The inscription in translation reads:

*He who wants to conquer my love
Shall have to pass across this chain
Yet underneath not, nor above
Nor damage nor undo its train.*

The gentlemen seem perplexed as to how to proceed. The drawing was undoubtedly one of a series, each with verses or mottos of a similar nature.

This drawing is thought to be French on the basis of the figure style and the costumes. It can be dated to the reign of Charles VIII (1483/92–1498). Joan Evans's description of men's fashion of this period could almost be that of the gentlemen in the present drawing. She refers to a manuscript—Angeli's translation of Ptolemy's Geography—written in 1485 for the Seigneur de la Gruthuyse which shows "a new

feeling for squareness in the cut of the fringe, the soft square caps of the attendants, and even in the square toes of the shoes. The bombard sleeves that had been so long in fashion were no longer worn; high collars, too, passed from the mode, and by the end of the reign of Charles VIII a shirt-collar of fine linen was permitted to show instead. The sleeves of outer garments were wide and loose."¹

The paper for this drawing has a watermark of a wheel, similar to Briquet 13389, of which each known example falls within a period of 1484 to 1525.²

¹ Joan Evans, *Dress in Medieval France* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 62–63.

² C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes, dictionnaire historique des marques du papier* (Paris, 1907), IV, 668.

2
etay maimouz conquestera.
qui deca. te las. passera.
sans temprez ne desmouez
sans dessus ne dessousz passez.



Languedoc,
end of 15th century

VII 12 *Saint Margaret*. Marble, H. 15-3/8, W. 9-5/8, D. 6-9/16 inches.
New York, Leopold and Ruth Blumka.

The representation of Saint Margaret bursting out of the dragon in this marble sculpture conveys much of the legendary meekness of the martyr Saint. From this figure we can believe with Anna Jameson that the Saint was chosen for her innocence and faith as reflected in the phrases of old metrical legends quoted in Mrs. Jameson's book:

*Mild Margarete, that was God's maid;
Maid Margarete, that was so meek and mild. . . .¹*

The Saint's face and slightly swelling bodice are delicately rounded and smooth. Her eyes are crescent-shaped and her mouth has a dimpled innocence. Tightly and regularly curled, her hair falls in eight or so strands down the front and back and over her mantle, which is patterned in relief, like Italian velvet. Loosely draped, this mantle is pulled about the Saint just above the body of the scaly dragon. As she emerges, she seems to open her mantle like a flower developing from its earlier form as a bud. She reveals not only her delicate form but also her belt with a symbolic chain. Her hair is held in place by a thin diadem set with stones, the present garnets perhaps not entirely the original ones. As a complete sculptural ensemble, this work is remarkable for the contrast of the idealism and delicacy of the figure, accented by certain realistic details, set against the scaly and repulsive textures of the lizard-turned-dragon at the base of the composition.

A comparison of this small sculpture with several others

¹ Anna Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art* (Boston and New York, 1895), II, 507.

thought to have been produced in Languedoc, provides the stylistic evidence for a similar attribution here. In fact, the Margaret is so close in the details of the carving of the face, of the long curly hair, and of the draperies that it can be assigned to the particular master and workshop which produced the stone Saint Mary Magdalene in the Musée des Augustins in Toulouse, the painted stone Annunciation Group from the Vigouroux Chapel in the Cathedral of Rodez (now in the Church of Inières), and possibly also the painted stone Virgin and Child at Bellegarde.² Admittedly there may be connections with Italian sculpture and with sculptural traditions in Burgundy and the Bourbonnais, perhaps conveyed through Jacques Morel who worked at Avignon, Béziers, Montpellier, and Rodez from 1441 to 1445 (see cat. no. VII-9). On the other hand, these figures can also be viewed as a natural evolution of the older sculptural traditions of Languedoc, as verified, for example, by comparison with the Virgin from the Chapel of Rieux of circa 1324 to 1348 now in the Musée Bonnat in Bayonne (see cat. no. V-11), or with the Virgin from Colombes de Montpezat.³

² Mathieu Méras, "La Vierge de Bellegarde," *Bulletin du Musée Ingres*, IX (July 1961), 5-8, figs. 4, 6. *Trésors d'art gothique en Languedoc* (Montauban: Musée Ingres, 1961), no. 101, pls. XVI, XVII. Daniel Ternois, "Autour de la sainte Madeleine des Augustins et de Notre-Dame-de-Grace," *La revue du Louvre*, XII (1962), 5-10, figs. 7, 9, 14, 15, 16.

³ Mathieu Méras, "La Vierge aux Colombes de Montpezat et la sculpture Toulousaine," *La Revue des Arts*, IX (1959), 57-60.

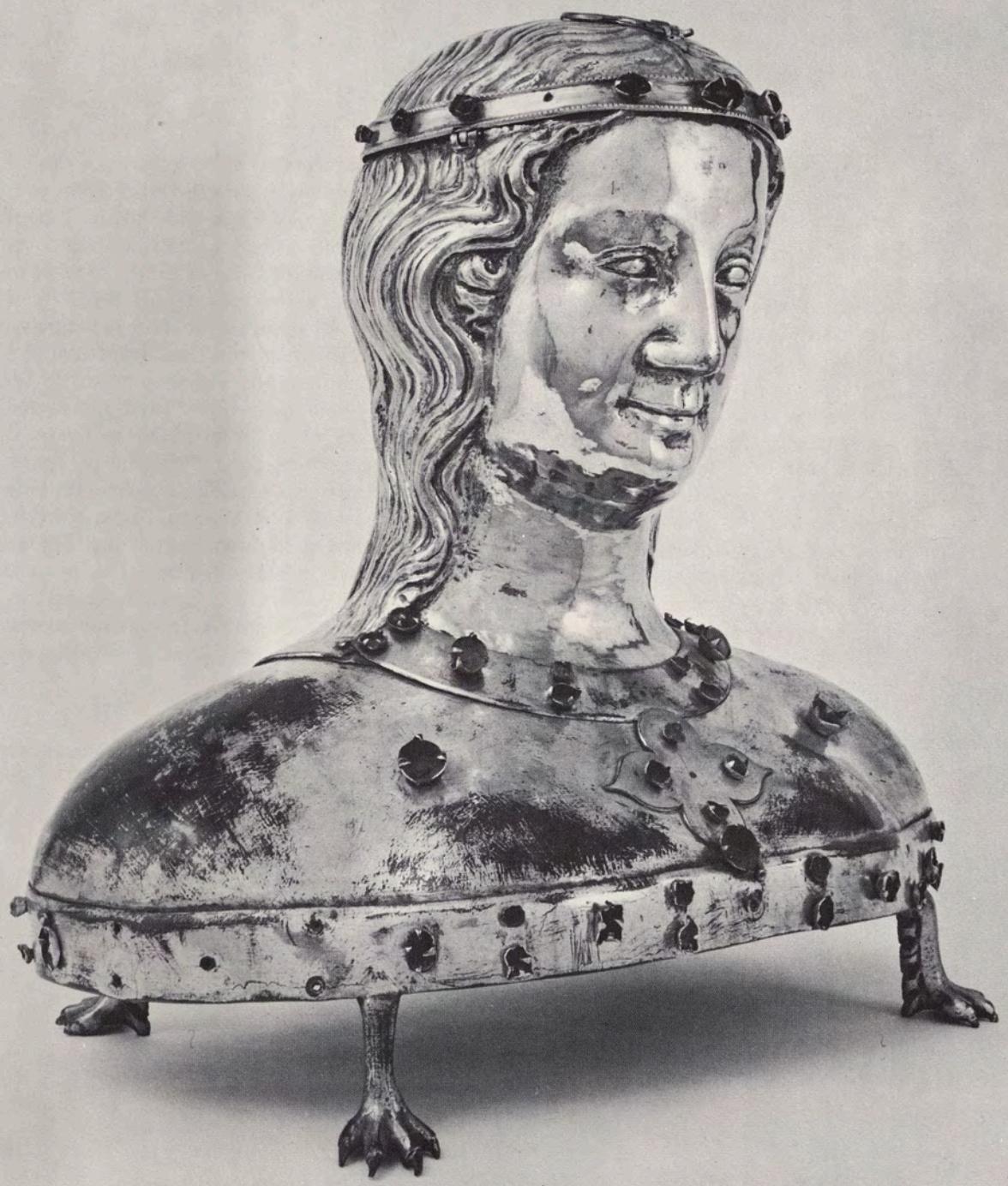


End of 15th century

VII 13 *Bust Reliquary of Sainte-Félicule.* Gilt copper, repoussé and chiseled, H. 17, W. 16-1/2, D. 9-7/8 inches. Saint-Jean-d'Aulps (Haute-Savoie), église paroissiale.

The Bust rests on a platform supported by four claw feet. The base, collar, crown, and other portions retain the mounts for cabochons, many of which have been lost. At the top there is an opening for viewing a relic of the Saint's head.

François Souchal mentions this Bust as a late example in a whole series of such reliquaries, many of which appeared in the great exhibition in Paris in 1965, *Les Trésors des églises de France*. The fifteenth century shows an increasing tendency toward realism in these head reliquaries, a reflection of an over-all pattern in the development of sculpture in any medium. In time, the busts, like the stone sculptures, took on life-like attributes as seen in the present work. The features of the Reliquary's rounded face, a slight suggestion of a smile, and a full-blown if excerpted body, could be typical of almost any local country girl.



Completely abandoned is the courtly grace, the fluid draperies, and the aristocratic smile of the ivory carvings of the fourteenth century (cat. nos. v-18, 19, 20). The trappings of that century are here replaced in part by the costume and armor of the new day, and the nude form, originally in triplicate, is savored without embarrassment. Not only poetry and symbolism but also realism rule this miniature world.

According to most accounts, the Trojan War began with disagreement among Aphrodite, Athena, and Hera, each of whom wanted for herself a golden apple inscribed "For the Fairest." Zeus, unwilling to anger two of the three goddesses, had Hermes take the rivals to be judged by Paris, the son of King Priam of Troy and Queen Hecuba. Each of the goddesses tried to bribe Paris—Athena promising glory and renown in war, Hera wealth and power, and Aphrodite the most beautiful woman in Greece as his wife. The ivory shows Paris in a reclining position pondering his momentous choice between each of the three nude goddesses before him. (Only the feet of the third are preserved.) Behind him is Hermes and beyond, his horse with an attendant.

The story of ancient Troy had a peculiar fascination in late medieval France, and was part of a larger interest in secular literature, pseudo-historic accounts, chronicles, and romances. Many works had allegorical or symbolic meaning, and the present story of Paris depicted in ivory may have once had a

dual meaning for its first owner. In any case, it can be classed with two other ivory supports, stylistically related and pedestals for a larger figure group.¹ The pedestals have been dated in the early sixteenth century and assigned to north French or Flemish workmanship. One of these, formerly in the Fildor collection, with a man drawing his sword and a fool looking up to the nearly nude woman, back to back with a skeleton, is apparently a reference to Hercules' dream of a choice between voluptuousness and virtue as related in Sebastian Brandt's *Ship of Fools* published in 1494. The related pedestal, which does not retain its surmounting figure, is now in the Cloisters collection, New York, and its figures relate to courtship and marriage, possibly as given in the long allegorical poem, *Roman de la Rose*, dating from the thirteenth century. While the Candelabrum was not carved by the same hand as the pedestals, it has been assigned to the same period, the early sixteenth century. Its present ownership may be a clue to a north French localization. Despite the ravages of time, this ivory object of the late Gothic period still conveys much of its intended charm.

¹ Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), II, 235–236, nos. 1244–1246. Bonnie Young, "Scenes in an Ivory Garden," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, XIV (June 1956), 252–256.



Late 15th century

VII 15 *Triptych with Scenes from the Life of the Virgin.* Gold and translucent enamel, H. 2-1/4, W. 1-25/32 inches (closed and including frame).
Inscription on frame: DOMINVS : DISIT : AD : ME : FILIVS : MEVS : ES : TV : EGO :
HODIE : GENVI : TE. (The onyx cameo with the Nativity is Italian, 13th century.)
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 47.508.

Like the splendid enamel Medallion from the Seligman collection (cat. no. vi-24), the present work has long been considered a late example of the International Style. Joan Evans called it Burgundian, dated it in the middle of the fifteenth century, and related it to an earlier reliquary recorded in the inventory of 1380 of Louis of Anjou. In the Exhibition of Gold in Cleveland in 1947-1948, it was dated in the first half of the fifteenth century, and the prophets on the exterior of the wings were compared with Claus Sluter. More recently it appeared in Cleveland's exhibition of Gothic Art 1360-1440 because of these prophets, while the remainder of the enameling was called "Close to Jean Bourdichon, ca. 1495."¹ It is now felt that all of the enameling is of this later date. The cameo has been tentatively identified by Hans Wentzel as Italian, perhaps as early as the first half of the thirteenth century.

The later dating of the enamels is proposed on the basis of style. The Education of the Virgin in the center on the back seems to be based on the central panel of the Naples Triptych by Jean Bourdichon.² The pose, proportions, drapery of the enamel's Saint Anne and Bourdichon's Virgin are almost identical. Even more striking is the architectural space in which the two groups are seated. This is a rectangular, columned *tempietto* with a waist-high parapet. Closer examination reveals that the enamel *tempietto* has two concentric parapets with columns, space-filling and obviating a near-impossible repetition of Bourdichon's landscape. The enamel columns are patterned in a way which recalls late fifteenth-century tapestries.

A study of the scenes on the fronts of the wings reveals parallels with the paintings of Maître de Moulins now identi-

fied as Jean Prevost.³ The low, flattened curves of the arches, as well as other details of the settings and figure style, are especially reminiscent of this master's work. The exterior of the wings, which at first glance seem so conservative and early, are especially comparable in drawing, proportion, and draperies to the figures on the Bourbon Diptych, a similar work in enamel in the Wallace collection, which represents on one side Charlemagne and Saint Louis, King of France, and on the other, the kneeling Pierre de Beaujeu presented by Saint Peter and the kneeling Anne de France presented by Saint Anne.⁴ Since the Bourbon Diptych is iconographically incomplete, we may suppose that its leaves once included as a triptych the figure of the Virgin and Child and may have resembled in form the Cleveland Triptych. The fact that Saint Anne is so prominent in the latter, and that the life of the Virgin is stressed might indicate that the present work belonged to a woman named Anne, possibly Anne de France herself.

Since the Seligman Medallion may have been produced in the same workshop as the Cleveland Triptych and the Bourbon Diptych, it is of interest to propose two other enamels which may be related in a similar way. One of these is a composite work in the Altman collection of the Metropolitan Museum.⁵ This is an enamel triptych which backs and frames a fifteenth-century Italian intaglio of Saint Sebastian. The enamel wings depict on their interior faces two saints with angels, and on their exterior faces (when closed) a Nativity scene with Joseph. On the back is the Virgin and Child on a crescent. The technique, colors, and style are almost identical to the Cleveland Triptych. Another work, in the collection of Robert Lehman in New York, is a single pendant with a

(Continued on page 385)

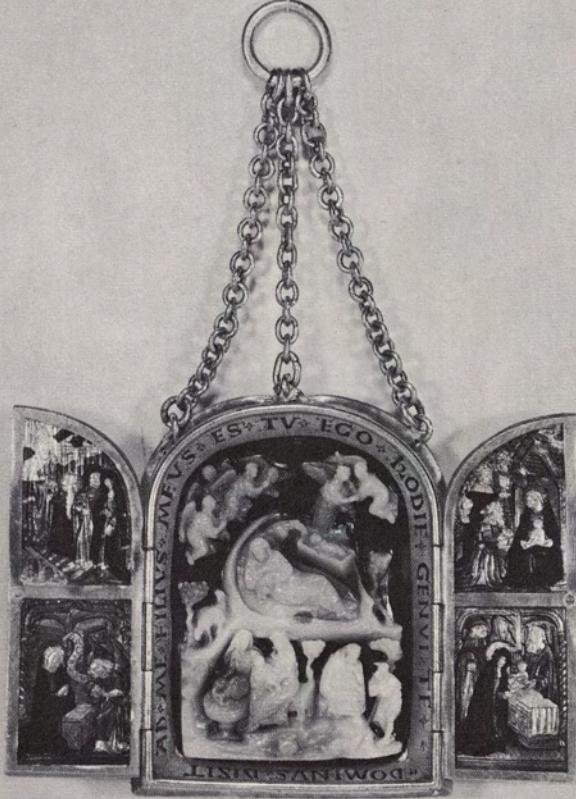
¹ Joan Evans, *A History of Jewellery 1100-1870* (London, 1951), p. 79. William M. Milliken, "The Art of the Goldsmith," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vi (June 1948), 321, fig. 7. "Catalogue, Gothic Art 1360-1440," *CMA Bulletin*, L (September 1963), 177, 204, no. 34.

² Reproduced in color in *Art de France*, II (1962), 243.

³ Jacques Dupont, "Jean Prevost, peintre de la cour de Moulins," *Art de France*, III (1963), 76-89.

⁴ Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting, 1400-1500* (London, 1949), p. 238, no. 296, figs. 44, 45.

⁵ *Handbook of the Benjamin Altman Collection* (New York, 1928), pp. 97-98, repr.



This long hanging, which illustrates part of the story of Saint Eloi, has received little notice in literature on late Gothic tapestries. It is of a type known as *mille-fleurs* because of the over-all background of distinguishable flowering plants. This background is also filled with animal life and birds of various identifiable species. The style of the drawing of the faces and figures, as well as the color and the *mille-fleurs* background, make possible an attribution to the same ateliers of the Loire Valley who produced the Courtly Life series in the Cluny Museum, the Concert tapestries belonging to the Gobelins Museum (cat. no. VII-26) and at Angers, the Life of Saint Stephen series in the Cluny Museum, the Lives of Saints Gervais and Protas in the Cathedral of Le Mans, the Depart for the Hunt also in the Cluny Museum, the Chaumont tapestries in Cleveland and Detroit (cat. nos. VII-22 to 25), as well as a number of other tapestries. Some of these have a *mille-fleurs* background throughout; others, like the Chaumont series, give landscape vistas in the upper portions of their compositions. Full details and basis of dating the entire group between circa 1500 to circa 1510 are given in Dorothy Shepherd's definitive discussion on the hangings from Chaumont.¹ The drawing and modeling of the spirited horse in the present work is especially similar to that of the horse which bears Louis XII in the Depart for the Hunt in the Cluny Museum. One of the characteristics of the Loire group, according to Miss Shepherd, is that the figures lack integration within their setting, and "stand against it isolated and gesturing like figures in a tableau."² While this feature may be more obvious in the remaining tapestries in the exhibition, this pantomime spirit can be observed also in the striking figure of Saint Eloi kneeling just to the right of the Virgin. The figures appear here to be tied a little more into the background because of the islands of grass beneath them which accent a receding ground plane. The great horizontal length of the Eloi tapestry is comparable to two other works in the group, both hav-

ing religious and narrative purposes: the Life of Saint Stephen and the Lives of Saints Gervais and Protas.

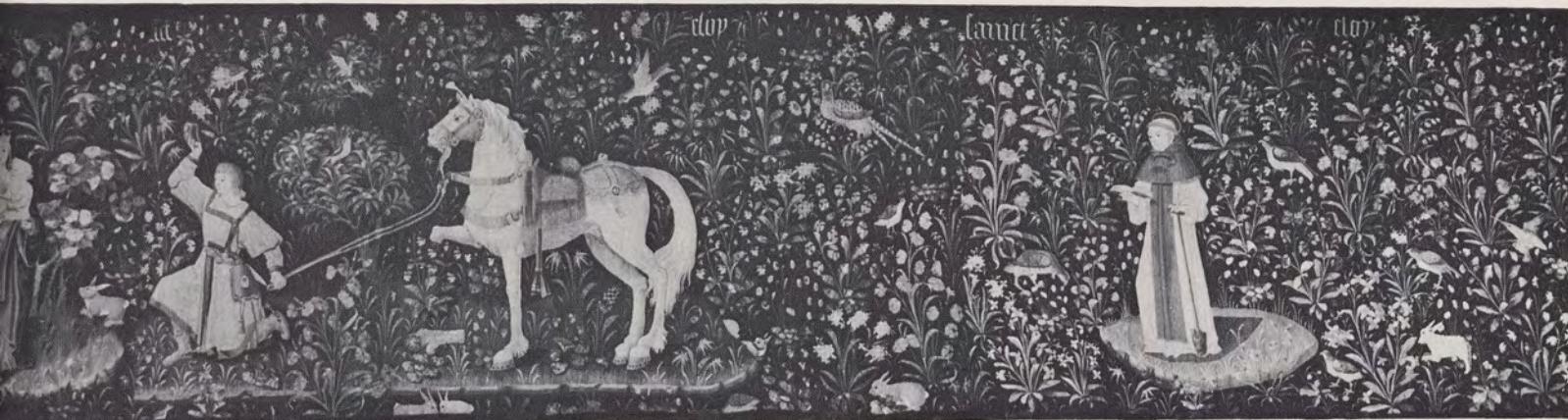
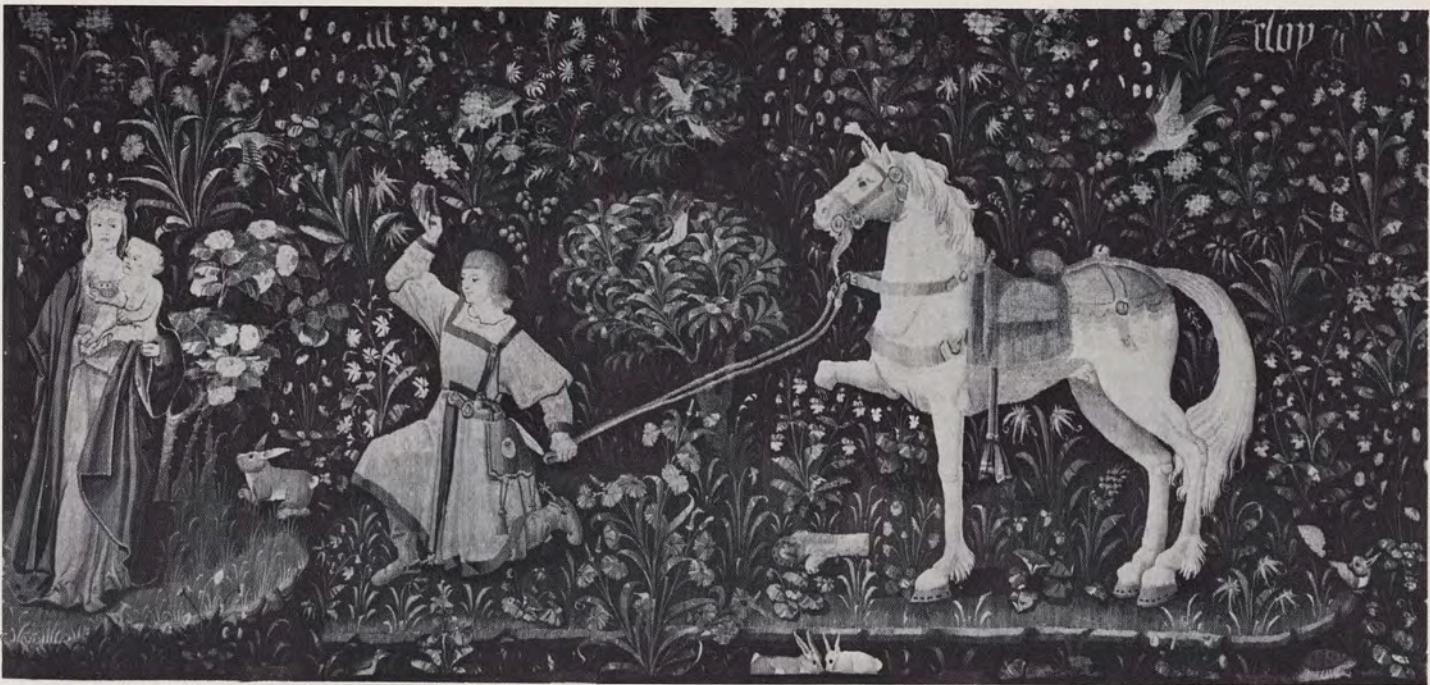
However, this hanging from Beaune does not attempt to recount the full life of Saint Eloi, but presents only the episode in which the Saint subdued a horse possessed of the demon which had been brought to him to be shod. Anna Jameson tells us that Saint Eloi, "no whit discomfited by these inventions of Satan, cut off the leg of the horse, placed it on his anvil, fastened on the shoe leisurely, and then, by making the sign of the cross, replaced the leg, to the great astonishment and edification of the faithful."³ The tapestry shows the (Continued on page 385)

¹ Anna Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art* (Boston and New York, 1895), pp. 713-714. See also Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1958), III, pt. 1, pp. 422-427.



² Dorothy Shepherd, "Three Tapestries from Chaumont," *CMA Bulletin*, XLVIII (September 1961), 159-177.

² *Ibid.*, p. 166.



Second decade 16th century

VII 17 *Angel Reliquary*. Silver and copper gilt, H. 7-1/2, W. 4 inches
(including base). Inscription: DU CHIEF DE SAINT PAVACE.
Saint-Pavace (Sarthe), église.

An angel kneels on one knee and presents a circular reliquary with great seriousness of countenance. The figure is raised from silver sheets in a method called *en coquille* (shell technique) and is partially gilded. His hair and wings are carefully chiseled with admirable precision, and the inscription is rendered in openwork. The figure and drapery style of this small work are related to the developments of contemporary sculpture and its tendency toward greater realism and monumentality. The motif itself, a kneeling angel, can be com-

pared with the "angelots" in stone and marble which bear coats of arms, crowns or pillows at the head of funerary effigies. The angels by the sculptor Michel Colombe are especially similar to the examples carved circa 1502–1507 for the Tomb of François II of Brittany and Marguerite de Foix, his wife, in the Cathedral of Nantes.¹

¹ Pierre Pradel, *Michel Colombe* (Paris, 1953), chapter v, pls. ix, xi. Marcel Aubert, *La sculpture française au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1946), p. 407 repr.



Champagne,
second decade 16th century

VII 18 *Madonna and Child*. Silver and gilt silver, H. 20-13/16, W. 7-1/2 inches (including base). Provenance: Said to be from the convent of the Ursulines at Troyes. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.712.

In the early sixteenth century, Troyes witnessed a remarkable flowering of free-standing stone sculpture. Many of these works, some quite monumental, are still preserved in Troyes and the vicinity. The Virgin and Child of circa 1508–1512 in the Hôtel-Dieu at Troyes, the Saint Martha of circa 1510 in the Church of Saint Mary Magdalene at Troyes, and the Visitation group of circa 1520 in the Church of Saint-Jean-au-Marché are just a few of the extant masterpieces rendered in the stone of the region. Other works in this style have migrated to America—to the Metropolitan Museum and The Walters Art Gallery—and one extremely handsome piece was acquired by the Toledo Museum of Art in 1958. All of these pieces are especially fragile because of the softness of the stone. All the religious figures tend to be represented as local and prosperous bourgeois types. The motif of the long hair streaming down over the shoulders, front and back, was especially popular in representations of the Madonna. The style seemed to have spread sufficiently enough to characterize this as a regional one in Champagne.

Two contemporary silver works have recently been published which fall within this style. They are a Virgin and Child in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the present work lent from The Walters Art Gallery.² Both are con-

structed of sheets of silver which have been raised to the desired forms, assembled, and held by solder. The Angel from Saint-Pavace (cat. no. VII-17) is made in the same technique, sometimes called *en coquille* (shell technique). The Walters Madonna and Child is constructed from four sheets of silver.

Each of these silver figures reflects a larger stone work. The London example, published by Charles Oman, seems similar to the stone Virgin at the Hôtel-Dieu in Troyes. The Walters Madonna, according to Philippe Verdier, appears to be based on the stone Virgin and Child in the Church of Villy-le-Maréchal which can be dated around 1517.

Like the larger figures, the smaller silver works also convey healthy facial types of the region. The Walters Virgin has an especially individual appearance and rusticity. However, the way in which her flowing mantle hangs at the sides and back, and is pulled across her bodice over her left arm gives her a certain grandeur. As in the stone and wood sculptures of the period, the drapery folds often abandoned the fluidity of earlier modes and are broken up into many folds, facets, and changes of direction. In some areas this Gothic mannerism preceded the final capitulation to the inroads of High Renaissance style in the north.

¹ *L'Art en Champagne au moyen-âge* (Paris: Musée de l'Orangerie, 1959), cat. nos. 57, 76, 55, respectively.

² Charles Oman, "A Silver Statue from Champagne," *Pantheon*, xviii (1960), 10–11, repr. Philippe Verdier, "A Silver Statue from Champagne," *Bulletin of The Walters Art Gallery*, xv (March 1963).



Limoges,
second decade 16th century,
by Master of the Louis XII Triptych
and Assistant

VII 19 *Triptych Showing the Annunciation and the Nativity*. Painted enamel
on copper, H. 7-3/8, W. 6-11/16 inches (including frame).
Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 44.145.

The Nativity and Annunciation scenes both depend in certain stylistic and iconographic features upon Flemish painting of the later fifteenth century. The Nativity especially recalls the Portinari Altarpiece by Hugo van der Goes in the angular drapery folds, the modeling of the heads, the cluster of angels worshipping the Christ Child, the angels hovering above, the architectural setting with the prominent column, and the curious rustic shepherds. Most of these Flemish features were conveyed to the enamelist by a print—a Nativity engraving by Israel von Meckenem (Bartsch 35)¹—and by French panel paintings like the famous Triptych by the Maître de Moulins (Jean Prevost). The Chaumont Triumph of Eternity tapestry provides a parallel to the enamel in that it too reflects Flemish-inspired prints and Flemish features in the Maître de Moulin's work. The Israel von Meckenem engraving, according to Ludwig Baldass, may in turn imply a lost painting by

¹ J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Les émaux limousins* (Paris, 1921), p. 159.

Hugo van der Goes.² The Renaissance pilastered backgrounds in the wings of the enamel Triptych are Italianate elements known in France since the miniatures and panel paintings by Jean Fouquet (1415/20–1481). The colors are, of course, completely different from any of these sources. Here we find violets, brilliant deep blues, grayish greens, bright greens, turquoise, and ochre highlighted with gold. These colors are more intense and opulent than those of the more somber Orléans Triptych (cat. no. VII-10). The sense of spatial ambiance is greater in the later work which, generally speaking, hovers between medieval archaism and a fully Renaissance conception of space and architectural setting. Technically the enamel Triptych is very different from the earlier translucent enamels which follow the style of both the Maître de Moulins and Jean Bourdichon (see cat. nos. VI-24, VII-15).

² Ludwig Baldass, "Niederländische Bildgedanken im Werke des älteren Hans Holbein," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* (Augsburg, 1928), II, 165, fig. 123.



Touraine,
second decade 16th century,
circle of Michel Colombe

VII 20 *Relief Heads of a Man and a Woman.* Marble, H. 5-1/2, W. 4-3/4,
D. 3-1/8 inches (man); H. 5-3/4, W. 5-3/4, D. 3-5/8 inches
(woman). The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of William G. Mather,
21.1003, 21.1004.

These two small, highly finished marble Heads, like the painted enamel Triptych by the Master of Louis XII (cat. no. VII-19), are superb examples of the last flowering of Gothic art in France coming before the increasing advances of the Italian-inspired "Renaissance" in France. The marbles are carved in three-quarter round with the back cut flat. That both Heads were intended to be used as high relief sculptures, as opposed to three-dimensional works, is further underscored by the greater fullness given to the far side of each face nearest the background. Viewed face-on, these Heads look awkwardly lopsided; viewed in profile or from a three-quarter view they appear to be completely and naturally modeled.

The surface of both Heads has been polished to a smooth satin finish and there is no trace of weathering. Irregularly broken at the necks and with the tips of the noses broken away, these sculptures may be vandalized fragments of some larger sculptural context not at present known.

A bit of marble at the back of the man's neck may indicate a cowl or some part of a loose collar. His tonsure suggests that he may represent a monk or an ecclesiastic. The face is subtly modeled, and there is a careful regard for underlying structure beneath the taut flesh. The furrowed brow and parted lips express a sense of intense concern if not anguish. The woman, whose face is rounder and fuller, has a more placid expression, although she too parts her lips as if paused in speech. Her softly modeled countenance is offset by the meticulous, gently curving coiffure and cap, pinned with a round jewel at the top. The hair with its braid at the back of the head is gathered up by intertwining ribbons. The braid, which must have been longer, is broken off at a point where it would have fallen free of the head. The coiffure and cap apparently are the styles *au courant* in well-dressed French circles of the first third of the sixteenth century.

When William M. Milliken first published these two very appealing sculptural fragments in 1922, he made no attempt to attribute them to any one master although he related them,

because of their soft and gentle beauty, to sculptures close to but not by Michel Colombe (circa 1430 to circa 1511).¹ Dr. Milliken found the best parallels in "a group of school pieces, which center around the famous Virgin and Child of Olivet in the Louvre." Of the several comparisons cited, this Virgin, possibly carved by Guillaume Regnault,² still appears to provide the closest analogy with the Cleveland Head of a Woman.

There are no records of the provenance of these Heads and the intervening years since Dr. Milliken's first publication have failed to unravel any of the problems of identification and attribution. The only new clue, so to speak, is that of the large relief of Saint George and the Dragon possibly by Michel Colombe himself and executed in 1508 for the upper chapel of the Château of Gaillon.³ The head of the princess of Cappodocia in this relief is vaguely similar in modeling and in its three-quarter position even though it is smaller and the cap quite different. This suggests that the present Heads may have been taken from a similar historiated relief carved by one of the followers of Michel Colombe. In this case, the flat backs may have been the result of later refinishing in order to enhance their sale. Another possibility, proposed by Dr. Milliken, is that these Heads may have come from relief figures in niches, possibly in a funerary context. However, renewed comparison with the lesser figures by a Flemish assistant at the tombs in the Church at Brou seem by contrast to emphasize the French nuances, delicacy, and superior quality of the Cleveland Heads.

¹ William M. Milliken, "Two Marble Heads, The School of Michel Colombe," *CMA Bulletin*, IX (January 1922), 2-6, repr.

² See Pierre Pradel, *Michel Colombe, le dernier imagier gothique* (Paris, 1953), pp. 84-85, pls. XXI, XXII (2).

³ Marcel Aubert, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art, sculptures du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1948), pls. 168, 170.



Possibly Burgundian,
ca.1490–1500

VII 21 *Portrait of a Nobleman*. Oak panel, H. 16-3/4, W. 10-7/8 inches.
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase, Leonard C. Hanna Jr.
Bequest, 63.503.

This enigmatic but handsome portrait has been thought to be French, possibly Burgundian.¹ The color ensemble, emphasizing deep, rich tonalities of black and gray over burgundy-red and adjacent to dark blue-green, is both unusual and handled in an authoritative way. While it is possible to see connections with the Maître de Moulins (Jean Prevost)² in the handling of the eyes, nose, and lips as well as in the hands and jewelry, other details, as in the space around the late

¹ The suggestion of Wolfgang Stechow in preliminary notes for the Catalogue of Paintings before 1500 in the Cleveland Museum.

² Jacques Dupont, "Jean Prevost, peintre de la cour de Moulins," *Art de France* (Paris, 1963), III, 77–89 see especially figs. 2, 4, 11, and 19.

fifteenth-century sword, as well as the distinctive color tonality, prevent an attribution to this master. Also, it can be compared with a number of portraits painted by anonymous French artists during the second half of the fifteenth century; none can be said to be by the same hand.³

The sitter probably is a prince because of his embroidered shirt and gold chains. The purpose of such a portrait is not clear. Its present frame, possibly the original one, has a slot for a lost sliding panel which might have provided protection for the portrait when it was not displayed or while traveling. The frame gives no indication of hinges.

³ See Jacques Dupont, *Les primitifs français, 1350–1550* (Paris, 1937), pp. 4, 52, 53, 62.



Valley of the Loire, 1500–1510	VII 22	<i>Triumph of Youth.</i> Tapestry, wool and silk, H. 131, W. 182 inches.
	VII 23	<i>Triumph of Eternity.</i> Tapestry, wool and silk, H. 129-1/2, W. 154-1/2 inches.
	VII 24	<i>Triumph of Time.</i> Tapestry, wool and silk, H. 133-1/2, W. 173 inches.
	VII 25	<i>Triumph of Love</i> (fragment). Tapestry, wool and silk, H. 107-1/2, W. 35 inches. The Cleveland Museum of Art: Purchase from the John L. Severance Fund (60.177), Gift of various donors by exchange (60.176), Purchase, Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Bequest (60.178); and The Detroit Institute of Arts, Ralph H. Booth Fund (35.6), respectively.

This series of three Tapestry Hangings plus a fragment of a fourth are thought to have been ordered for the château of Chaumont in the Loire Valley by Charles d'Amboise (d. 1511).¹ We know that they hung there in the nineteenth century and until at least 1907. The château itself may be depicted in the background of the tapestry entitled *Youth*. Two addorsed and intertwined *C*'s appear between the foremost towers of this tapestry rendition of the château. This emblem, combined with the flaming mountain (*chaud mont*), may be seen today in the actual, if restored château.

Dorothy Shepherd has put forward convincing arguments, several newly formulated, for a Loire Valley origin of a whole body of tapestries which have a "close unity of style." Many of these may have been "the work of itinerant weavers who moved from château to château as they received commissions."² Two other examples of this local style are represented in the exhibition—the tapestry with the Story of Saint Eloi from Beaune, and the Concert lent from Paris (cat. nos. VII-16, 26). Some of the other tapestries in the group cited by Miss Shepherd were mentioned in discussion of the Saint Eloi tapestry. By closely reasoned and detailed stylistic comparisons of these works, several of which are dated or datable on historical grounds, Miss Shepherd has reaffirmed a dating within the first decade of the sixteenth century for the entire

¹ For complete documentation and full discussion, see Dorothy G. Shepherd, "Three Tapestries from Chaumont"; Rémy G. Saisselin, "Literary Background of the Chaumont Tapestries"; William D. Wixom, "Traditions in the Chaumont Tapestries," *CMA Bulletin*, XLVIII (September 1961), 159–177, 178–181, 182–190, respectively.

² Shepherd, p. 165.

group. This has special significance for the Chaumont tapestries, because this dating coincides with the period when Charles d'Amboise was rebuilding the château between 1498 and 1511. The "Loire group" includes both several *mille-fleurs* tapestries with secular subjects and two separate series with lives of saints depicted against landscape and architectural backgrounds. With religious, allegorical and symbolic meanings underlying their gay secular façades, the Chaumont hangings combine elements of the *mille-fleurs* group as well as the landscape groups. The Saint Eloi tapestry, here attributed to the Loire group, is a reversal—a clearly religious tapestry with a *mille-fleurs* background. While such exceptions and interchanging of elements may seem to complicate the picture, these tapestries all have many features in common in their figure style, drawing, composition, and color.

Although the underlying significance of the Chaumont tapestries may never be fully discovered, Miss Shepherd has provided a basis for at least an initial understanding of their meaning. The clue is that of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, which stressed "the impermanency of everything in this world and that only eternity would triumph."³ The inscriptions as translated by Rémy G. Saisselin are both related to the contemporary literary scene, especially that of the *Rhétoriqueurs*, and also are examples of this theme of impermanency.

The *Triumph of Eternity* tapestry reads:

*Nothing triumphs by right authority
Unless it be conducted by Eternity.
Nothing is permanent beneath the firmament,
But above us triumphs Eternity.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 171.



The verse of the Time tapestry reads:

*One sees the weather adorned in green
 Sometimes as pleasing as an angel;
 To suddenly change and be quite strange:
 The weather never stays the same.*

The Youth or Death tapestry reads:

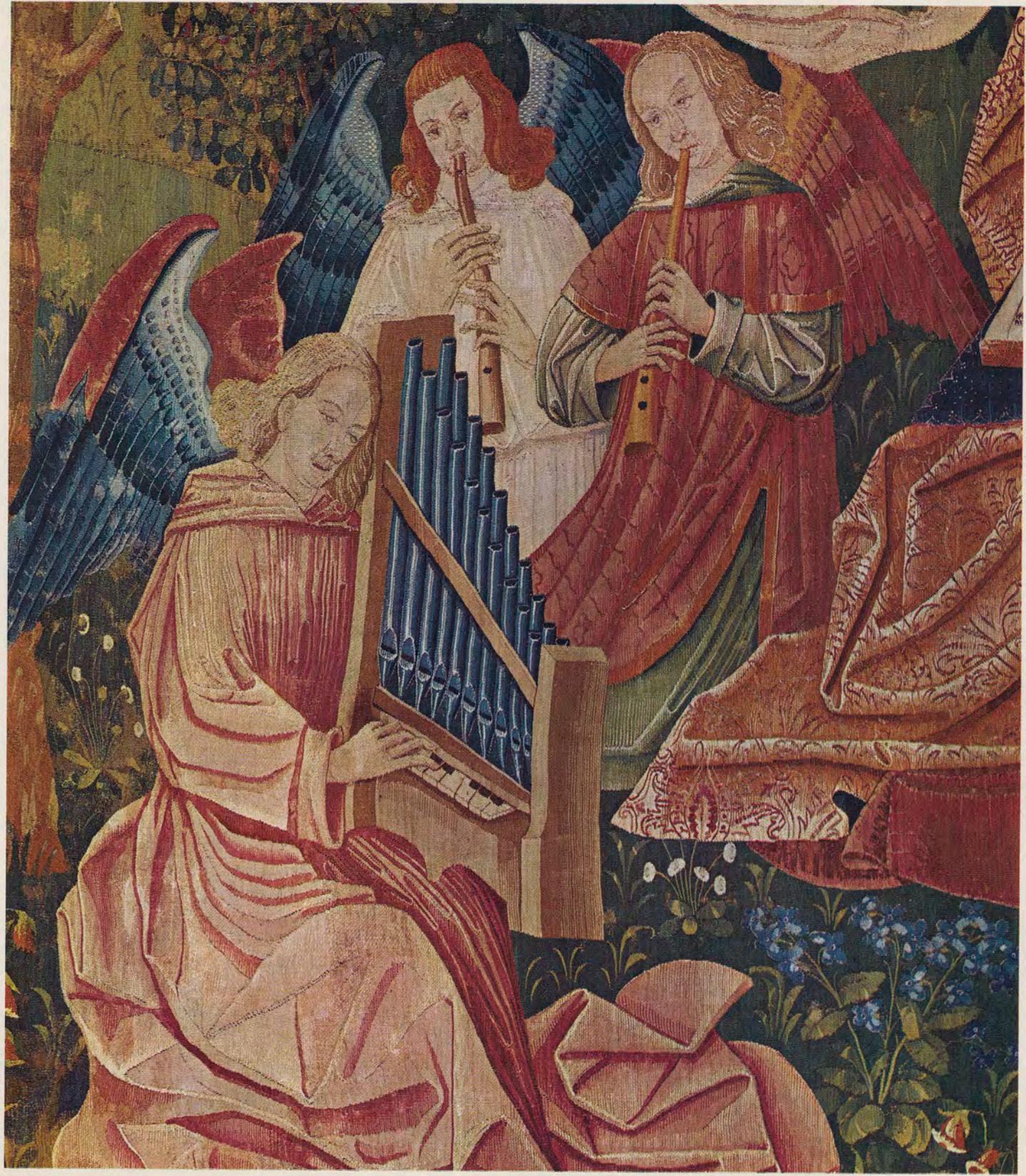
*Youth triumphs while its heart is healthy,
 And when it seems to hold all in its hand.
 But this triumph is without eternity.
 Here one sees the example full well:
 Those who are happy hide death in their heart.
 Let the young heed this warning.*

The fragment Triumph of Love (but then Death) reads:

*I strike all and everywhere
 With fires and darts the chaste hearts.
 But what matter the jousts and reversals
 For in the end comes death to upset all.*

All of this, as Miss Shepherd points out, is not a literal representation of the Petrarch *Trionfi* but a free interpretation. Parts of a series of drawings, which also depart from the traditional iconography following Petrarch, can be compared with the tapestries. These drawings illustrate a sixteenth-century French translation of the Petrarch text (Bibl. de l'Arsenal, no. 5066).⁴ They and two of the tapestries—the

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 172–173.





Triumph of Eternity and the Triumph of Love—may reflect a common iconographical source. The two remaining panels are even more allegorical.

The earlier style of paintings by Jean Fouquet and Jean Bourdichon make these tapestries seem remarkably conservative and quite medieval by comparison. The hangings seem oblivious to Fouquet's treatment of continuous space and

distance, using solid figures and architecture consistently diminishing in size in the distance. Instead the tapestries are composed by grouping decorative units of figures in vertical parentheses on each side of a central figure. All of these figures are composite color areas, and while not flat, are without weight or solid mass. Mostly, they exist large in scale close up to the foreground. The background rises sharply to



about the middle of each panel, where clumps of trees and foliage begin to function as screens and *repoussoirs* to adjacent but distant hills, rivers, and châteaux. This kind of shallow space formula with its limiting screens and partial glimpses of deep space beyond, recalls similar devices in earlier manuscript illustrations, such as those of Fouquet's generation where his Renaissance spatial experiments had not yet been adopted (see cat. no. vii-5). The drapery style, in its angular breaks and folds, recalls Flemish, not Italian, influence in France. The Eros in the Detroit fragment in its treat-

ment of the nude, does not depend on Mantegna's conception of the antique, but on an earlier Gothic model in the spirit of Villard de Honnecourt's conception of the antique. The Chambord tapestries, as in many of the Loire tapestries, make no use of Renaissance innovations in the depiction of space, distance, mass, drapery, or the nude figure, even though the sources for these experiments were available in the work of prominent French artists of the preceding half century and in prints from Italy which traveled widely. In relation to the pictorial arts, the tapestries were behind the times—out of

touch with the moving force of new interests which received their impetus from Italy.

Clues to an explanation of this pictorial conservatism may be found in the traditions of court art of the previous century, especially that of the so-called International Style of circa 1400. The decorative character; the picturesque detail in animals, birds, and plants; the Madonna of Humility seated in the Garden of Paradise; the Coronation of the Virgin; and a continuing concept of courtly life taking place within a foliate landscape, are all favored themes of the aristocracy which can be traced by natural steps from this earlier era. The purposes and limitations of wall decoration evident in the Loire tapestries were quite similar to those of the earlier tapestries, manuscripts, and frescoes. These traditions, continuing in the Chaumont series, find a parallel in the eclecticism of the verses on them which also hark back to earlier forms. A time-honored style, with some changes and adaptations, was maintained. The status quo was not to be altered. However, the crest wave of the Renaissance was already beating on the shores of French style. It broke all barriers in French tapestry designs under François I by the 1530's, and tapestries lost their appeal as colorful wall decorations in the manner of earlier court art.



Valley of the Loire,
early 16th century

VII 26 *The Concert.* Tapestry, wool and silk, H. 118-1/8, W. 143-3/8
inches. Paris, Musée des Gobelins et Salles d'Expositions.

Much of the commentary for the Eloi and Chaumont tapestries should be borne in mind in relation to this well-known masterpiece produced in one of the *ateliers des bords de la Loire*. It has much in common with the Chaumont series: the stylized posturing of the figures, some diminutive persons (not all children) in the foreground, the *mille-fleurs* background, and several characteristics of drawing, color, and composition.

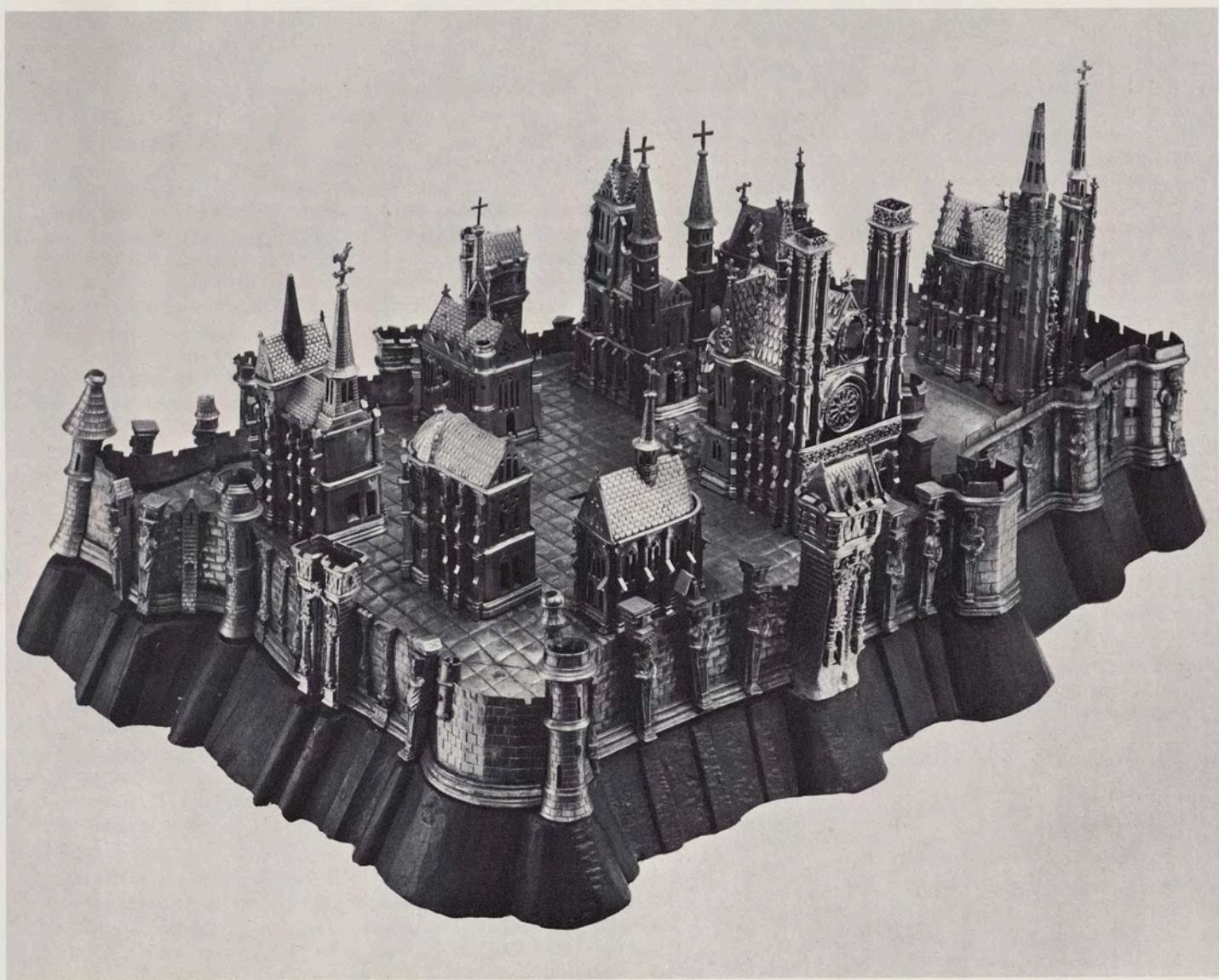
We are told that another but inferior panel of a similar subject in the Tapestry Museum at Angers, belonged with the present one to the Rohan family, and that both were ordered by Pierre de Rohan (died 1513) for his château du Verger, near Angers. The Angers panel has an added strip with Pierre

de Rohan's coat of arms. Dorothy Shepherd has related these two hangings with a third showing angels bearing instruments of the Passion against a similar *mille-fleurs* background. This work has the same coat of arms as those on the strip added to the Angers panel. While the connection of the two Concerts with Pierre de Rohan is still a little tenuous, Miss Shepherd points out that Pierre de Rohan and Charles d'Amboise, who is thought to have commissioned the Chaumont series, were contemporaries, both living in the same region, and each holding the title of Maréchal de France under Louis XII. It is certainly possible that they could have employed the same weavers and cartoonists for their respective tapestry projects.



VII 27 *Plan in Relief of the City of Soissons.* Copper, cast, chiseled, silvered and gilt, H. 13, L. 29-1/2, W. 18 inches. Soissons (Aisne), Cathédrale Saint-Gervaise-et-Saint-Protas.

Eight Gothic church structures of Soissons are rendered in metal, shaped by various techniques and surrounded by the city wall with fortified gates. Many intricate forms of Gothic architecture are clearly represented. The silhouette of this Relief Plan is evocative of a late Gothic town. However, this is also the swan song of Gothic art, actually executed in 1560, well into the Renaissance period. The metalworker betrays his personal inclinations and the aesthetics of the later period by using many Renaissance details and ornamental motifs, such as the engaged columns at the fortified gates and the successive terms, some female, with entablatures applied to the city walls.



CATALOGUE

CHAPTER I Merovingian Inheritance and Carolingian Experiment

I-1 page 12

Medallion with Bust of Christ. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTION: Ducal House of Brunswick-Lüneburg.

EXHIBITIONS: Hanover, Guelph Museum, 1861–1866. Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Kunst Industrie, 1869. Frankfurt-am-Main, Städelsche Kunstinstitut, 1930. New York, Goldschmidt Gallery, 1930: The Guelph Treasure, no. 2. The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1931: The Guelph Treasure no. 2. The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1936: Twentieth Anniversary Exhibition, no. 5. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1947: Early Christian and Byzantine Art, no. 22 repr. Aix-la-Chapelle, Hôtel de Ville, 1965: Charlemagne, no. 215.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Emile Molinier, *L'Emaillerie* (Paris, 1891), pp. 92, 93; repr. p. 95. W. A. Neumann, *Der Reliquienschatz des Hauses Braunschweig-Lüneburg* (Vienna, 1891), no. 78. Marc Rosenberg, "Erster Zellenschmelz Nördlich der Alpen," *Jahrbuch der königliche preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXIX (1918), 17. Marc Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst* (1921), III, 77, fig. 3; IV, 6, fig. 13. Willy Burger, *Abendländische Schmelzarbeiten* (Berlin, 1930), XXXIII, 42 repr. Otto von Falke, Robert Schmidt, and Georg Swarzenski, *The Guelph Treasure* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1930), pp. 26–27, 100, no. 2, pl. 5. William M. Milliken, "The Acquisition of Six Objects from the Guelph Treasure . . .," *CMA Bulletin*, XVII (November 1930), 163, 175–176. Donald Bullough, *The Age of Charlemagne* (London, 1965), repr. p. 18.

I-2 page 14

Plaque with the Crucifixion and Scenes of the Last Supper, Betrayal of Christ, Three Marys at the Tomb, Incredulity of Thomas, Ascension of Christ, and the Pentecost. Narbonne (Aude), Trésor de la cathédrale St. Just.

EX COLLECTIONS: M. de Stadien, Narbonne. Gift of M. de Stadien to the Trésor de la cathédrale de Narbonne in 1850.

EXHIBITIONS: Carcassonne, Musée municipal, 1935: Exposition de l'art religieux audois, no. 117. Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1965: Les Trésors des églises de France, no. 601, pl. xx. Aix-la-

Chapelle, Hôtel de Ville, 1965: Charlemagne, no. 53, pl. 103.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grimouard de Saint-Laurent, "L'Iconographie de la croix et du crucifix," *Annales archéologiques*, XXVI (1869), 373; *idem.*, XXVII (1870), 4 repr., 15–16, n. 1. Louis de Farcy, "Quelque pièces du trésor de la cathédrale de Narbonne," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, LXII (1912), fig. 1, pp. 36–38. Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen Kaiser* (Berlin, 1914), vol. I, no. 31, pl. xv. Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle en France* (Paris, 1928), p. 81, n. 4. Louis Grodecki, *Ivoires français* (Paris, 1947), p. 45. Raymond Rey, "L'Ivoire de Narbonne," *Bulletins de la Commission archéologique de Narbonne*, XXII (1947–1948), 79 ff. Paul Thoby, *Le Crucifix des origines au Concile de Trente* (Nantes, 1959), pl. XXII, no. 46, p. 49. Hermann Schnitzler, "Les Ivoires de l'école de la cour de Charlemagne," *Charlemagne* (Aix-la-Chapelle, 1965), pp. 307, 315, 316. Hermann Fillitz, "Die Elfenbeinreliefs zur Zeit Kaiser Karls des Grossen," *Aachener Kunstabläter*, Heft 32 (1966), figs. 15, 16, p. 34. Tardy, *Les Ivoires évolution décorative du 1^{er} siècles à nos jours* (Paris, 1966), p. 20 repr.

I-3 page 16

Apparition of Christ in Jerusalem. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

EX COLLECTION: Paul Garnier, Arras.

EXHIBITIONS: Arras, 1935: Exposition de Notre-Dame des Ardents, no. 157, pl. 16.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hanns Swarzenski, "An Unknown Carolingian Ivory," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, L (1952), 1–7. John Beckwith, *The Basilewsky Situla* (London, 1963), p. 6, fig. 4.

I-4 page 18

Psalter, in Latin. Troyes (Aube), Trésor de la Cathédrale.

EX COLLECTION: Chapel of the Counts of Champagne, founded by Henry the Liberal (d. 1181).

EXHIBITION: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1954: *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France du VII^e au XII^e siècle*, no. 42, pl. IX.

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CHAPTER II Proto-Romanesque, Assimilations, and Monumental Art

II-1 page 22

Four Gospels, in Latin. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library.

EX COLLECTIONS: Chapter Library, Beauvais Cathedral. Library of the Château de Troussures.

EXHIBITIONS: New York, New York Public Library, Pierpont Morgan Library, Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts held at the New York Public Library, 1933–34: no. 21, pl. 21. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Arts of the Middle Ages, 1940: no. 26. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Les manuscrits à peintures en France du VII^e au XII^e siècle, 1954: no. 116.

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II-2 page 26

Enthroned Elder of the Apocalypse. Saint Omer (Pas-de-Calais), Musée Hôtel Sandelin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser* (Berlin, 1914), IV, no. 39, pl. xi.

II-3 page 26

Enthroned Elder of the Apocalypse. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: Georges Hoentschel, Paris. J. Pierpont Morgan, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: André Pératé, *Collection Georges Hoentschel* (Paris, 1911), no. 16, pl. xiv. Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser* (Berlin, 1914), IV, no. 37, pl. xi. Joseph Breck and Meyric R. Rogers, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Pierpont Morgan Wing, A Handbook* (2nd ed.; New York, 1929), pp. 50–51 repr.

II-4 page 28

Engaged Capital. Poitiers (Vienne), Musée municipaux.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1957–1958: Chefs d'œuvre romans des musées de Province, no. 46, pl. x. Barcelona, Museo de bellas artes de Cataluña, 1962: El arte románico, no. 363.

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II-5 page 30

Sacramentary, in Latin. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library.

EX COLLECTIONS: Earl of Ashburnham. H. Yates Thompson (sale, London, Sotheby, 1919, no. 1).

EXHIBITIONS: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Museum of Art, 1931: Art of the Middle Ages, p. 14, repr. opp. p. 23. New York, New York Public Library, 1934: Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts, no. 22, fig. 3 and pl. 22. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1940: Arts of the Middle Ages, no. 27. Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, 1948:

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II-6 page 32

Liturgical Comb. Verdun (Meuse), Musée de la Princerie.

EX COLLECTION: Cathedral of Verdun (1792–1857).

EXHIBITION: Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1957–1958: Chefs d'œuvre romans des musées de Province, no. 114.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser* (Berlin, 1926), IV, 48–49, no. 176 (includes previous bibliography), pl. LXIII, fig. 176. Hubert Landais, "Chefs d'œuvres romans des musées de province, objets d'art," *La Revue des Arts*, VII (Nov.–Dec. 1957), p. 281, fig. 18. John Beckwith, "A Game of Draughts," *Studien zur Geschichte der Europäischen Plastik, Festschrift Theodor Müller* (Munich, 1965), p. 32, n. 13. Victor-Henry Debidour, "Iconographie et symbolisme religieux," *Histoire générale des églises de France*, ed. André Chastel (1966), p. 301 repr.

II-7 page 34

Miniature showing Saint Luke, from a Bible, in Latin. Montreal, Mr. and Mrs. L. V. Randall.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Meyer Schapiro, *The Parma Ildefonsus, A Romanesque Illuminated Manuscript from Cluny and Related Works* (New York, 1964) (*Monographs of Archaeology and Fine Arts*, XI), p. 36, n. 125; p. 46, nn. 184, 185; p. 47, n. 195; p. 48, n. 196; pp. 50, 61, fig. 50.

II-8 page 36

Christ in Majesty. Le Coudray-Saint-Germer (Oise), église.

EXHIBITION: Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1965: *Les Trésors des églises de France*, no. 89, pl. 77.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Archisse de Caumont, *Abécédaire*, vol. II: *Architecture religieuse* (Caen, 1886), pp. 499–500.

II-9 page 38

Bust of a Saint. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

EX COLLECTIONS: Paul Garnier, Paris. Joseph Brummer, New York.

EXHIBITIONS: Arras, Notre-Dame des Ardents, 1935: Exposition, no. 155, pl. 20. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1940: Arts of the Middle Ages, no. 231.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, LV (Autumn–Winter 1957), p. 78, no. 29 repr. Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, "Le Goût Plantagenet et les arts mineurs dans la France du Sud-Ouest," *Akten des 21 Internationalen Kongress für Kunstgeschichte* (Bonn, Sept. 14–19, 1964) (unpublished). Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, "Observations chronologiques sur les émaux champlevés méridionaux et limousins exposés parmi les trésors des églises de France," *Les Monuments historiques de la France* (1966), n. 6 (unpublished).

II-10 page 40

Psalter, in Latin. Amiens (Somme), Bibliothèque municipale.

EX COLLECTION: Comte Charles de l'Escalopier.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1954: Les manuscrits à peintures en France du VII^e au XII^e siècle, no. 220. Barcelona, Museo de bellas artes de Cataluña, 1961: *El arte románico*, no. 70.

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II-11 page 42

Gospels, in Latin. Amiens (Somme), Bibliothèque municipale.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1954: Les manuscrits à peintures en France du VII^e au XII^e siècle, no. 131. Barcelona, Museo de bellas artes de Cataluña, 1961: *El arte románico*, no. 55.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Haseloff, "Peintures, miniatures et vitraux de l'époque romane," in André Michel, ed., *Histoire de l'art* (Paris, 1905), I, 748, fig. 404. Max Hauck, *Die Kunst des frühen Mittelalters* (vol. VI of *Propylaeum Kunstgeschichte*) (Berlin, 1929), p. 139, pl. XLI (in color). Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (Chicago, 1954), pl. 81, figs. 187, 188, 189. Jean Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures* (New York, 1959), p. 30, pl. XXII.

CHAPTER III Monuments of Romanesque Art and the First Gothic Vision

III-1 page 46

Reliquary Châsse. Bellac (Haute-Vienne), église de Notre-Dame. EXHIBITIONS: Limoges, Hôtel de Ville, 1886: L'exposition d'art rétrospectif de Limoges. Paris, 1900: Exposition universelle rétrospective de l'art français. Paris, Palais National des Arts, 1937: Chefs d'œuvre de l'art français, no. 1187. Limoges, Musée municipal de Limoges, 1948: Exposition émaux limousins, XII^e, XIII^e, XIV^e siècles, no. 3, fig. 1. Barcelona, Museo de Cataluña, 1961: El arte románico, no. 425. Rome, Bibliothèque Apostolique Vaticane, 1963: Emaux de Limoges du Moyen-Age, no. 4. Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1965: Les Trésors des églises de France, no. 356, pl. 52.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roy-Pierrefitte, *Histoire de Bellac* (1851), p. 119. Léon Palustre and X. Barbier de Montault, *Orfèvrerie et émaillerie limousines* (Paris, n.d.), I^{re} partie, pls. I, II. Abbé J. B. Texier, *Dictionnaire d'orfèvrerie* (Paris, 1857), col. 1258. E. Molinier, "Trésor de l'abbaye de Grandmont et châsse de Bellac," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires* (1886), p. 230. E. Molinier, "L'exposition d'art rétrospectif de Limoges," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXIV, 2^e série (1886), 172–174. Abbé Arbellot, "Châsse émaillé de l'église de Bellac," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, XII, 2^e série (1887), pp. 21–27. Louis Guibert, "Orfèvrerie limousine et les émaux d'orfèvre à l'exposition rétrospective de Limoges," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, 2^e série (1888), pp. 179, 208. Ernest Rupin, *L'Oeuvre de Limoges* (Paris, 1890), pp. 62, 145, figs. 103–104, 107–108. Louis Guibert, "Les vieux émaux de Limoges à l'exposition de 1900," *Bulletin de la Société des Lettres, sciences et arts de la Corrèze* (1900), p. 13. André Demartial, "L'Orfèvrerie émaillée de Limoges," *Congrès archéologique*, LXXXIV (1921), 431–434. W. L. Hildburg, *Medieval Spanish Enamels* (London, 1936), pp. 57, 66, 77, 109. Jean Babelon, *L'Orfèvrerie français* (Paris, 1946), p. 38, pl. XXI. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, *Emaux limousins champlevés des XII^e à XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1950), pp. 24, 27, 65, 68, pl. 4. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, "Les Emaux champlevés 'limousins' et l'oeuvre de Limoges, quelques problèmes posés par l'émaillerie champlevé sur cuivre en Europe méridionale, du XII^e au XIV^e siècle," *Cahiers de la céramique* (Autumn 1957), no. 8, repr. opp. p. 146. Jean Maury, Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, and Jean Porcher, *Limousin roman* (Zodiaque, La nuit des temps 11, 1960), repr. pp. 252 (no. 4), 265, 266, 267; discussed pp. 280, 284–286. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, "Observations chronologiques sur les émaux champlevés méridionaux et limousins exposés parmi les trésors des églises de France," *Les Monuments historiques de la France* (1966), (unpublished).

III-2 page 48

End of a Reliquary Châsse with Saint Paul. Dijon (Côte-d'Or), Musée des Beaux-Arts.

EX COLLECTION: Trimblet.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Gleize, *Catalogue des objets d'art formant le Musée Anselme et Edma Trimblet* (Dijon, 1883), no. 1255. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, "Les Emaux champlevés 'limousins' et l'oeuvre de Limoges," *Cahiers de la céramique*, VIII (Autumn 1957), repr. p. 155, fig. 10: "2^e tiers du XII^e siècle, atelier catalan(?)".

III-3 page 50

Sacramentary of the Cathedral of Saint-Etienne, in Latin. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

EXHIBITIONS: Limoges, Musée municipal, 1950: L'Art roman à Saint-Martial de Limoges, no. 40, repr., pls. XIX–XXII. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1954: Les manuscrits à peintures en France du VII^e au XII^e siècle, no. 326. Barcelona, Museo de bellas artes de Cataluña, 1961: El arte románico, no. 69.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle en France* (Paris, 1922), pp. 74 (fig. 61), 75, 91, 93 (fig. 79), 124 (fig. 106). V. Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les Missels* (Paris, 1924), I, 213, pls. XXXIII–XXXV. Ph. Lauer, *Les Enluminures romanes des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1927), pp. 110–116, pls. LIII–LVII. Albert Boeckler, *Abendländische Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 101, 122, pls. 101, 102. Jean Porcher, *Le Sacramentaire de Saint-Etienne de Limoges* (Paris, 1953). Jean Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures* (New York, 1959), pp. 24–25, fig. 21 and pl. XIV. Jean Maury, Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, and Jean Porcher, *Limousin roman* (Zodiaque, 1960), pp. 239–240 (repr. in color).

III-4 page 54

Bas-relief: the Sign of the Lion and the Ram. Toulouse (Haute-Garonne), Musée des Augustins.

dateable in 1096. The stylistic and iconographical similarities suggest that not only pilgrims moved along the roads between Toulouse and Santiago, but also artists and perhaps members of their workshops. The exchanges went both ways, although within this larger context the relief of the Sign of the Lion and the Ram still has no qualitative peer.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, 1900: Exposition rétrospective de l'art français des origines à 1800, no. 4622. Paris, Palais National des Arts, 1937: Chefs d'œuvre, no. 948. Toulouse, Musée des Augustins, 1954: Dix siècles d'enlumineuse et de sculpture en Languedoc, no. 99. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1964: Huit siècles de sculpture française, chefs-d'œuvre des Musées de France, no. 1.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. de Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane* (Paris, 1912), p. 642, fig. 656. Richard Hamann-MacLean, *Frühe Kunst in westfränkischen Reich* (Leipzig, 1939), no.

193. Joan Evans, *Art in Medieval France* (Oxford, 1948), p. 32. Paul Mesplé (*Toulouse, Musée des Augustins*) *Les Sculptures romanes* (Paris, 1961), no. 206 (for all other previous bibliography). Marcel Durliat, "Languedoc et Sud-ouest," *L'Art Roman en France*, ed. Marcel Aubert (Paris, 1961), p. 221.

III-5 page 56

Double Capital with the Wise and Foolish Virgins. Toulouse (Haute-Garonne), Musée des Augustins.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Palais National des Arts, 1937: Chefs-d'œuvre de l'art français, no. 953. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1957-1958: Chefs-d'œuvre romans des musées de Province, no. 5.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle en France* (Paris, 1922), pp. 149, 180, 181, fig. 138. Joan Evans, *Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period* (Cambridge, 1950), p. 97, fig. 170. Paul Mesplé (*Toulouse, Musée des Augustins*) *Les Sculptures Romanes* (Paris, 1961), no. 34 (for additional previous bibliography).

III-6 page 58

Capital: Scenes from the Story of Samson. Cambridge (Massachusetts), Fogg Art Museum.

EX COLLECTIONS: Garcin, Bernard d'Hendecourt, Paris. Paul J. Sachs, 1920.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, l'Hôtel de Sagan, 1913: Exposition d'objets d'art du moyen-âge et de la renaissance, pl. 1. Paris, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1937: Chefs-d'œuvres d'art français, no. 955. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1940: Arts of the Middle Ages, no. 165, pl. xxii. Andover (Massachusetts), Addison Gallery, 1955. Cambridge (Massachusetts), Fogg Art Museum, 1966: Works of Art from the Paul J. Sachs Collection, no. 84 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. H. Labande, "L'église Notre-Dame-des-Doms d'Avignon, des origines au XIII^e siècle," *Bulletin archéologique* (1906), pp. 282-365, pl. LXXVI. R. de Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane* (Paris, 1912), p. 630, fig. 642. A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston, 1923), repr. nos. 1342-1343. A. Kingsley Porter, "The Avignon Capital," *Fogg Art Museum Notes*, I (January 1923), 2-10. Paul Deschamps, *French Sculpture of the Romanesque Period* (New York, 1930), p. 84, pl. 85. R. de L. Brimo, "A Second Capital from Notre-Dame-des-Doms at Avignon," *Bulletin of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University*, V (1935-1936), 9-11. Hans-Adalbert von Stockhausen "Die romanischen Kreuzgänze der Provence, II. Teil: Die Plastik," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunswissenschaft*, VIII-IX (1936), abb. 167, 168, and 169, 127-129. Richard Hamann-MacLean *Friüe Kunst in Westfränkischen Reich* (Leipzig, 1939), p. 24, pls. 198-199. Jean Verrier, *Les arts primitifs français* (Paris, 1939), figs. 198, 199. Marcel Aubert, *Description raisonnée des sculptures . . . I, Moyen-âge* (Paris, 1950), pp. 79, 80, 81. Fernand

Benoit, "Provence," in *L'Art roman en France*, ed. Marcel Aubert (Paris, 1961), p. 423, repr.

III-7 page 60

Moralia in Job, by Saint Gregory, vol. I, in Latin. Dijon (Côte-d'Or), Bibliothèque municipale.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1923: Le livre français, no. 17. London, Royal Academy, 1932: Exhibition of French Art, 1933 cat. no. 938, pl. CCVIII. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1932: no. 5. Dijon, Musée, 1953: St. Bernard et l'art des cisterciens, no. 47. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1954: Exposition Manuscrits à peintures du VII^e au XII^e siècles, no. 282, pl. XXVII.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Amédée C. L. Boinet, "L'exposition du livre français au Pavillon de Marsan," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, VII (1923), 256. Charles Oursel, "Les manuscrits à miniatures de la Bibliothèque de Dijon," *Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures*, VII (1923), pp. 12-13, 19, pl. IV. Charles Oursel, *La miniature du XII^e siècle à l'abbaye de Cîteaux d'après les mss. de la Bibliothèque de Dijon* (Dijon, 1926), pp. 29-31, pls. XXII-XXIV. Albert Boeckler, *Abendländische Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 100, 122, pl. 100. P. Neveux and E. Dacier, *Les richesses des bibliothèques provinciales de France*, I (1932), 156, pl. XLV. Vera K. Ostoia, "A Statue from Saint Denis," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, XIII (June 1955), 302 repr. Carl Nordenfalk and André Grabar, *Romanesque Painting* (Lausanne, 1958), pp. 176, 203, 205, 206. Jean Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures* (New York, 1959), p. 21, pl. XII. Charles Oursel, *Miniatures cisterciennes, 1109-1134* (Mâcon, 1960), pp. 11, 23, 27, pls. XXII, XXIII, XXIV. John Beckwith, *Early Medieval Art* (London, 1964), p. 192, fig. 181.

III-8 page 62

Saint Peter. Providence (Rhode Island), Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

gesting pleats. The proportions of the Saint Peter are somewhat elongated; his head is ovoid but sharply delineated by the curved edge of the beard and the split curves of the hairline, brow, and moustache. In the Saint Peter's head we might surmise the lost image of the larger and more magnificent head of Christ in the tympanum below. The hard polished surface in the two fragments also suggest something of the smoothness and finesse of the lost whole. (This freshness and relative lack of weathering resulted from the protection of the enormous ante-church or porch constructed in front of the abbey.) Thus an understanding of the entire portal is made more vivid by the first-hand appreciation of these parts.

Professor Conant noticed years ago that the dominant sculptor working on the portal was already trying his hand in one of the sanctuary capitals, an engaged one which tells the story of Eden and the Fall of Man. The peculiarities of this sculptor continued in the work of his helpers who produced the two exhibited fragments. One

of these peculiarities was the ovoid head with sloping brow, pointed nose, small mouth, and sharply cut beard. Another peculiarity rendered three-quarter figures in high relief, almost in the round, yet left the far arm and hand carved in low relief.

It is not possible here to elaborate on the enormous influence that Cluny had on subsequent Romanesque churches and their sculptural decoration. However, it should be mentioned that Cluny is reflected in many ways in the Cathedral of Saint Lazare at Autun. The primary sculptural decorations of this edifice, carved between 1125 and 1135, have been shown to be the work of the sculptor who signed the tympanum, Gislebertus. Denis Grivot and George Zarnecki have also traced the hand of Gislebertus to specific reliefs at Vezelay, and they have suggested that he might also have had a hand in some of the work on the Cluny tympanum. Grivot and Zarnecki were tempted to consider the sculptor of the heads of the elders in the fourth archivolt at Cluny the same as the sculptor, Gislebertus, who did the elders gathered at the left of the Christ of the Autun tympanum. Since the sculptor of the Cluny "elder heads" may have carved the Saint Peter fragment in the exhibition, we can contemplate the possibility that we are facing a youthful work of Gislebertus. There are many points of comparison and contrast about which arguments may long linger. Regardless of such speculations of exact authorship, it is possible to observe an instructive stylistic evolution from the treatment of the figure of Saint Peter on the Cluny portal datable circa 1109–1115 to the figure of Saint Peter on the tympanum of Autun carved by Gislebertus circa 1130–1135. In this evolution the physiognomic types, the ovoid head with sloping brow, the pointed nose, the small mouth, and the curve of the lower edge of the beard all remain somewhat constant, while the pleats are elaborated in the later work into a series of clustered parallel ridges and the figure takes on a visionary elongation.

EX COLLECTIONS: M. Thiebault-Sisson. Durlacher Brothers, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Raimond van Marle, "Twelfth Century French Sculpture in America," *Art in America*, x (December 1921), 3–16 repr. L. Earle Rowe, "A Piece of Romanesque Sculpture," *Bulletin of the Rhode Island School of Design*, xiv (July 1926), 30–32 repr. Helen Kleinschmidt, "The Cluny St. Peter," *Studies, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design* (Providence, Rhode Island, 1947), pp. 17–31, figs. 1, 3a, 5a. Joan Evans, *Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period* (Cambridge, 1950), p. 24.

III-9 page 62

Figure. Cluny (Soane-et-Loire), Musée Ochier.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1957–1958: *Chefs-d'œuvre romans des musées de Province*, no. 26. Paris, 1965: *Saint Jacques de Compostelle*, no. 477.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Helen Kleinschmidt, "The Cluny St. Peter," *Studies, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design* (Providence, Rhode Island, 1947), pp. 17–31, figs. 3c, 5c.

III-10 page 64

Vousoir Figure of a Censing Angel. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection.

EX COLLECTIONS: Abbé Victor Terret, Autun. Joseph Brummer, New York.

EXHIBITION: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1940: *Arts of the Middle Ages*, no. 169.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Victor Terret, *La Sculpture Bourguignonne, Autun* (Paris, 1925), II, 50, pl. XLVIII. Denise Jalabert, "L'Eve de la Cathédrale d'Autun." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6 Per., Tome XXXV (1949), 260–262, 265–266, 272, fig. 6. Margaret M. B. Freeman, "A Romanesque Virgin from Autun," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, N.S. VIII (December 1949), 116, repr. 115. Denis Grivot and George Zarnecki, *Gislebertus, sculptor of Autun* (New York, 1961), pp. 32, 146, 150–151, 158 (VII), 176.

III-11 page 66

Engaged Capital: The Feast of Belshazzar (Daniel 5:1–5). Vézelay (Yonne), Musée lapidaire de l'église de la Madeleine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Charles Porré, *L'Abbaye de Vézelay* (Paris, 1909), p. 38. Victor Terret, *La Sculpture bourguignonne aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles. Cluny* (Paris, 1914), pp. 65, 66. Marcel Aubert, *La Bourgogne, la sculpture* (Paris, 1930), I, 16, pl. 36. J. Baltrusaitis, *La Stylistique ornementale dans la sculpture romane* (Paris, 1931), p. 205, n. 1, fig. 601. Joan Evans, *Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period* (Cambridge, 1950), p. 76, fig. 130b. Francis Salet, *La Madeleine de Vézelay* (Melun, 1958), p. 198, pl. 46, no. 36.

III-12 page 68

Engaged Capital: Daniel in the Lions' Den. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

Green on the basis of a modern copy of the Cleveland Capital which is installed in the great nave of the mostly mid-twelfth-century church at Saint Aignan-sur-Cher (Loire-et-Cher). Plausibly a substitution was made in modern times when this church was repaired and re-worked. The nave capitals have similar proportions and they are either cut straight across the top edge or are notched. It has not been possible to compare the measurements. However, the Daniel Capital at Saint Aignan is not the only modern capital built into the church. Difficulties arise in the correct identification using only photographs or published illustrations. Many questions preclude absolute points of comparison and put in doubt any certainty to this localization of the Cleveland Capital. Nearly all of the presumably authentic capitals bear such little detailed resemblance to the Cleveland Capital that it would be necessary to conclude that mostly different sculptors were at work. Furthermore, none of the published capitals at Saint Aignan, except for the copy of the Cleveland Daniel Capital, have a rope twist border at the lower edge. It is important to note that the Daniel Capi-

tal at Saint Aignan is not the only modern copy there of another known original which can be traced to its source. The capital with the Virgin and Child under a canopy supported by columns with a monk at one side copies a capital at Saint Benoît-sur-Loire.

An alternative provenance can be considered at Bourges in the Church of Montermoyen, now lost but which once served the convent founded by Saint Eustadiole. The Romanesque church was begun in 1080; the capitals may be tentatively dated in the second quarter of the following century.³ At least three of these capitals are preserved today in the lapidary collection at the House of Jacques Coeur in Bourges and two more are in the Worcester Art Museum. While it is impossible to consider here the entire group, there are two of these capitals which must have been carved in part by a hand very close to that of the Cleveland Capital. One of these is a capital preserved at Bourges, decorated with lions and fantastic heads at the top. The other, at Worcester, shows lions and winged monsters devouring human beings. The physiognomic characteristics in the carving of the lions is especially similar as is also the treatment of the manes and paws.

There are, however, several serious problems which prevent any certitude of a localization of the Cleveland Capital in the Church of Montermoyen. First of all, the style of the figure of Daniel is a great deal more subtle than the carving of any of the lions, whether on the same capital or on the Bourges or Worcester capitals. Furthermore its style suggests the traditions of Burgundy, particularly Autun. No such figure appears in the preserved capitals from the Church of Montermoyen.

The question of measurements does not clearly refute nor does it substantiate the Bourges localization. There are slight differences. Also, the Worcester and Bourges capitals have a notched upper edge and a relatively smooth and rounded lower edge. Since the discrepancies within many Romanesque churches are numerous, it is therefore difficult to determine at this time whether the Cleveland Daniel Capital comes from Saint Aignan because of the copy there, or whether it comes from the Church of Montermoyen at Bourges because of a high sculptural quality, certain characteristics which it closely shares with capitals from that church.

Perhaps these matters are not complicated enough and therefore two additional puzzling and tantalizing notes should be added. Dr. Green observed that Jurgis Baltrusaitis reproduced in his book, *La stylistique ornamentale dans la sculpture romane* (Paris, 1931), a drawing of the side of a Daniel capital, which contrary to the caption, is not the Daniel capital on the tribune level at Saint Sernin of Toulouse, but a fairly accurate depiction of the Cleveland Daniel Capital. The questions are how this confusion arose, and whether the source of the photograph, which was the basis of the drawing, might be some day revealed. This confusion also suggests the possibility that the copies at Saint Aignan may have been made from photographs.

The mystery is further complicated by the fact that before 1923 the Cleveland Capital was owned by the art dealer G. J. Demotte,

who himself was the subject of much mystery. The history of the two Worcester capitals from the church of Montermoyen is similarly cloaked in uncertainty in the mid-1920's. They were probably purchased by George Grey Barnard after the sale in 1925 of his first collection to the Metropolitan Museum.⁴

EX COLLECTIONS: G. J. Demotte (until 1923). The Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Dr. Hoptäler, Vienna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts*, XII (April 1923), 27 and repr. on cover. Rosalie B. Green, *Daniel in the Lions' Den as an Example of Romanesque Typology* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1948), pp. 10-11, figs. 8, 81, 82. Additional discussion for the CMA Bulletin is in preparation.

⁴ Martin Weinberger, *The George Grey Barnard Collection* (New York, 1941), nos. 14, 15, pls. IV, V.

III-13 page 70

Chalice of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art.

the Eleanor vase and the ewer, we have no documentation which associates it directly with Suger. Nevertheless, the Suger Chalice and ewer, the Eleanor vase and the *nef* make a homogenous stylistic group.

The vicissitudes of time have not been entirely kind to these splendid articles of the Abbey's furnishings. It is a marvel that they survived at all. In any case, certain changes in each piece can be detected which do not seriously diminish the over-all impression, but which must be noted because of the questions they would otherwise raise. Erwin Panofsky has pointed out that the Christ medallion on the foot of the Chalice was once flanked by four other busts, presumably the Four Evangelists, as shown in a drawing that was made of the Chalice in 1633 at the behest of the antiquarian Peiresc. Subsequently, perhaps in the eighteenth century, these busts were replaced by medallions with Eucharistic symbols (clusters of grapes alternating with sheaves of grain). Similarly the several multi-faceted jewels replaced some of the medieval rounded cabochons, as noted by Erwin O. Christensen.

The later history of the Chalice is filled with near-tragedy, intrigue, mystery, and "discovery." After the French Revolution and the partial destruction of the treasures at Saint-Denis, the Chalice was placed in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Stolen in 1804 together with some other items, some still lost, the Chalice was taken to England where it was hidden from view, presumably in the Towneley collection, for more than a century. Through the auspices of Jacob Goldschmidt it was bought for the Widener collection at Elkins Park, where it was "discovered" and published in 1923 by Seymour de Ricci. Joseph E. Widener presented it in 1940 with the rest of the Widener collection to the National Gallery of Art in Washington, where it remains as one of its principal treasures.

EX COLLECTIONS: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (1793-1804). Towneley, England. Peter A. B. Widener and Joseph E. Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Suger, *De Rebus in administratione sua gestis*, ed.

³ Louis Grodecki, "Le chapiteaux de l'église de Montermoyen à Bourges," *Mémoires Union Société sav. Bourges*, III (1951-52), 13-29. Grodecki dates the Bourges and Worcester capitals in the first quarter of the twelfth century, a date which seems too early on stylistic grounds.

Panofsky (see below), p. 79. M. Félibien, *Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint-Denis en France* (Paris, 1706), p. 541, pl. IIIR. Abbé Texier, "Suger, abbé de Saint-Denis," *Dictionnaire d'orfèvrerie de gravure et de ciselure chrétiennes* in *Encyclopédie théologique de Migne* (3rd ed.; Paris, 1857), vol. XXVII, col. 1365, col. 1474 repr. Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe, études archéologiques sur ses monuments* (Paris, 1883–1889), vol. IV, p. 123, pl. CCCIX. J. Guibert, *Les Dessins du Cabinet Peiresc au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1910), pp. 27 ff., pl. III. W. Martin Conway, "The Abbey of Saint-Denis and its Ancient Treasures," *Archæologia*, LXVI (1915), pp. 143 f., pl. XVI, 1. Seymour de Ricci, "Un Calice du Trésor de Saint-Denis," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes-Rendus* (1923), pp. 335 ff. Marc Rosenberg, "Ein Wiedergefundener Kelch," *Festschrift zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag von Paul Clemen* (Bonn, 1926), pp. 209 ff., figs. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8. Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures* (Princeton, 1946), pp. 79, 205, pl. 24. Charles Seymour, Jr., *Masterpieces of Sculpture from the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, D. C., 1949), pp. 10 f., p. 171, repr. (detail), p. 27. Erwin O. Christensen, *Objects of Medieval Art from the Widener Collection* (Washington, D.C., 1952), pp. 5–6, repr., pp. 4, 7. Joan Evans, *Life in Medieval France* (New York, 1957), p. 233, pl. 26. René Huyghe (ed.), *Larousse Encyclopedia of Byzantine and Medieval Art* (London, 1963), repr. in color opp. p. 289, p. 300.

III-14 page 72

Head of an Old Testament King. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.

EX COLLECTIONS: Kelekian, until 1911. Henry Walters.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bernard de Montfaucon, *Les monumens de la Monarchie françoise . . .* (Paris, 1729), vol. I, p. 193, pl. XVII. (For Montfaucon's original drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris see A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* [Boston, 1923], fig. 1456.) Marvin Chauncey Ross, "Monumental Sculpture from St.-Denis, and Identification of Fragments from the Portal," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, III (1940), 91–109. Marvin Chauncey Ross, "Two Heads from St.-Denis," *Magazine of Art*, XXXIII (December 1940), 674–679. Charles Rufus Morey, "Medieval Art in America," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VII (1944), 2. Marcel Aubert, "Mélanges, têtes de statues-colonnes du portail occidental de Saint-Denis," *Bulletin monumental*, CIII (1945), 243–248. Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures* (Princeton, 1946), p. 165. Marcel Aubert and Michèle Beaulieu, *Description raisonnée des sculptures*, vol. I: *Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1950), p. 57: "les trois fragments conservés aux Etats-Unis doivent être datés de 1155 environ . . ." Sumner McKnight Crosby, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis* (Paris, 1953), pp. 7–8, pl. VIII. Vera K. Ostoia, "A Statue from Saint-Denis," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, XIII, n.s. (June 1955), 303. Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral* (Baltimore, 1959), p. 43, fig. 43 (Montfaucon engraving).

III-15 page 72

Column Figure of an Old Testament King. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTION: Marquis de Migieu (Château de Savigny-les-Beaune, Burgundy?).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jacques Doublet, *Histoire de l'abbaye de S. Denys en France* (Paris, 1625). Bernard de Montfaucon, *Les monumens de la Monarchie françoise . . .* (Paris, 1729), vol. I, pp. 57–58, pl. X. Félicie de Ayzac, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis* (Paris, 1860–1861), vol. I, Livre 5, pp. 485 ff., 551; vol. II, p. 215. Wilhelm Vöge, *Die Anfänge des monumentalen Stiles im Mittelalter, eine Untersuchung über die erste Blütezeit französischer Plastik* (Strassburg, 1894), pp. 197–199, 232, 286. Robert de Lasteyrie, "Etudes sur la sculpture française au moyen-âge," *Monuments et Mémoires, l'Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Fondation Piot*, VIII (1902), 29 ff., 33. Alan Priest, "The Masters of the West Façade of Chartres," *Art Studies*, I (1923), pp. 30 ff., fig. 9. William H. Forsyth, *A Brief Guide to the Medieval Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, (New York, 1947), repr. p. 8. Sumner McKnight Crosby, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis* (Paris, 1953), p. 49. Vera K. Ostoia, "A Statue from Saint-Denis," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, XIII, n.s. (June 1955), 298–304. Louis Grodecki, "La 'Premier sculpture gothique,' Wilhelm Vöge et l'état actuel des problèmes," *Bulletin monumental*, CXVII (1959), p. 276, repr. p. 273. Jules Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis* (Paris, 1960), p. 19. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Guide to the Collections, Medieval Art* (New York, 1962), p. 27, fig. 41.

III-16 page 76

Head of Saint Bénigne. Dijon (Côte-d'Or), Musée archéologique.

EX COLLECTION: Gossen (until 1874).

EXHIBITIONS: Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1952: Musées de Bourgogne, no. 71. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1957: Le Diocèse de Dijon, no. 141. York, Art Gallery, 1957: Art from Burgundy, no. 7. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1957–1958: Chefs-d'œuvre romans des musées de Province, no. 35. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1962: Cathédrales, no. 5.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dom Urbain Plancher, *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne* (Dijon, 1739), I, 502–503 repr. Catalogue du Musée de la Commission des Antiquités du département de la Côte-d'Or (1894), no. 1135, pl. XVIII. L. Chompton, *Histoire de l'église Saint-Bénigne de Dijon* (Dijon, 1900). A. Kingsley Porter, "La Sculpture de XII^e siècle au Bourgogne," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5 Per., II (1920), 92. V. Flipo, *La cathédrale de Dijon* (Paris, 1928), pp. 28–29, repr. Marcel Aubert, *La Bourgogne, la sculpture* (Paris, 1930), III, pl. 138, no. 1. L. Schürenberg, "Spätromanische und frühgotische Plastik in Dijon, und ihre Bedeutung für die Sculpturen des Strasburger Münsterquerschiffes," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LVIII (1937), pp. 16, 24, abb. 2. Charles Oursel, *L'art de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1953), p. 68. Pierre Quarré, "La sculpture des anciens portails de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*,

6 Per., L (October 1957), 178, 187, 188, 190, figs. 7, 12. Pierre Pradel, *Sculptures romanes des Musées de France* (Paris, 1958), pl. 11. Louis Grodecki, "La 'Premier sculpture gothique' Wilhelm Vöge et l'état actuel des problèmes," *Bulletin monumental*, CXVIII (1959), 280, repr. p. 275. André Lapeyre, *Des façades occidentales de Saint-Denis et de Chartres aux portails de Laon* (Paris, 1960), pp. 103-108, fig. 66. Willibald Sauerländer, "Twelfth-century sculpture at Châlons-sur-Marne," *Romanesque and Gothic Art, Studies in Western Art* (Princeton, 1963), I, 120, 121, pl. XXXIX, fig. 9.

III-17 page 78

A Bishop. Bourges (Cher), Musée du Berry.

EXHIBITIONS: Tokyo, 1954-1955: L'art français au Japon, no. 135. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1957-1958: Chefs-d'œuvre romans des Musées de Province, no. 75. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1962: Cathédrales, no. 25.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, XXVI (1961), 269-307. Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis, "Deux statues du XII^e siècle au Musée de Bourges," *Bulletin monumental*, LXXVII (1913), 140-143 repr. Arthur Gardiner, *Medieval Sculpture in France* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 198-199, fig. 194. René Crozet, *L'art roman en Berry* (Paris, 1932), pp. 320-321. Pierre Pradel, "Sculptures (XII^e) 'de l'église de Souvigny,'" *Monuments Piot*, XL (1944), 157, n. 4. Pierre Pradel, *Sculptures romanes des Musées de France* (Paris, 1958), pl. 33. A. Lapeyre, *Des façades occidentales de Saint-Denis et de Chartres aux portails de Laon* (Paris, 1960), p. 160.

III-18 page 80

Capital Fragment with Scenes from the Story of Daniel (?). Kansas City (Missouri), William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Merlet, "Histoire de l'abbaye de Coulombs," *Mémoires de la société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir*, III (1863), 26. Robert Branner, "A Romanesque Capital from Coulombs," *The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin*, II (January 1960), 1-6.

III-19 page 82

Fragment of a Crucifix. Angers (Maine-et-Loire), Musée Archéologique Saint Jean.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paul Thoby, *Le Crucifix des origines au Concile de Trente* (Nantes, 1959), p. 105, fig. 9, pl. LXIV, no. 145.

III-20 page 84

Head (formerly called *Ogier le Danois*). Meaux (Seine-et-Marne), Musée municipal.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1957-1958: Exposition chefs-d'œuvre romans des musées de Province, no. 81, pl. xi (2). Barcelona, Museo de bellas artes de Cataluña, 1961: El arte románico, no. 361, pl. XXVIII.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Gassies, "Note sur une tête de statue trouvée à Meaux," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques scientifiques* (1905), pp. 40-42, pl. vi. Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII^e siècle en France* (Paris, 1922), pp. 306-308. A. Endrèse in *La liberté* (July 24, 1953). Pierre Pradel, *Sculptures romanes des Musées de France* (Paris, 1958), no. 48.

III-21 page 86

Sacramentary, for use of Reims Cathedral. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.

EX COLLECTIONS: Louis le Caron, Château de Troussures, MS. 304 (sale, Paris, July 9, 1909, no. 14). Gruel and Engelmann, Paris. Henry Walters (after ca. 1910).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Henri Omant, "Recherches sur la bibliothèque de l'église cathédrale de Beauvais," *Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, XL (1916), 80. *Idem*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut national de France*, XL (1926), 60 (no. 26), 89. Charles Niver, "A Twelfth-century Sacramentary in the Walters Collection," *Speculum*, x (1935), 333-337. Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, I (New York, 1935), 775, no. 113; II (New York, 1937), 2290. Percy Ernst Schramm, "Nachträge zu den ordines-Studien II-III," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, XVI (1939), 282. Hanns Swarzenski, *Art Bulletin*, XXIV (1942), 295-296. Dorothy Miner, *The Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, III (November and December 1950 and March 1951), repr. Dom Anselm Strittmatter, "The Pentecost Exultet of Reims and Besançon," *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. Dorothy Miner (Princeton, 1954), pp. 384-400. W. H. Bond and C. V. Faye, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962), nos. 565-566.

III-22 page 88

Mourning Virgin from a Crucifixion Group. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

EX COLLECTIONS: Alphonse Kahn, Paris. Joseph Brummer, New York.

EXHIBITION: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1940: Arts of the Middle Ages, no. 265.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, LV (1957), 84, no. 36 repr.

III-23 page 90

Column Figure. Cambrai (Nord), Musée municipal.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1957–1958: Chefs-d'œuvre romans des Musées de Province, no. 97. Barcelona, Museo de Cataluña, 1961: El arte románico, no. 360. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1962: Cathédrales, no. 20.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Henri Coulon, "L'Hôpital Saint-Jacques-au-Bois de Cambrai," *Mémoires de la Société d'emulation de Cambrai*, LII (1898), 17–20, pl. 5, fig. 2. Jacques Vanuxem, "La Sculpture du XIII^e siècle à Cambrai et à Arras," *Bulletin monumental*, CXIII (1955), 16–19, fig. 10. Pierre Pradel, *Sculptures romanes des Musées de France* (Paris, 1958), pl. 61. André Lapeyre, *Des façades occidentales de Saint-Denis et de Chartres aux portails de Laon* (Paris, 1960), pp. 224–225.

III-24 page 92

Single Leaf from a Decretum, by Gratianus. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTION: Dr. Vladimir G. Simkhovitch, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CMA Bulletin, XLV (March 1958), 54 repr.

III-25 page 94

Head of King David. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTION: Lucien Demotte, New York.

EXHIBITION: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1940: Heads in Sculpture, repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lucien Demotte, *Sculpture Portraits* (New York, 1930), cat. no. 9, pl. 9. James J. Rorimer, "A Twelfth-century Head of King David from Notre-Dame," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXXV (January 1940), 17–19, figs. 1, 2. Marvin Chauncey Ross, "Monumental Sculpture from Saint-Denis," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, III (1940), 106. James J. Rorimer, "Forgeries of Medieval Stone Sculptures," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXVI, 6^e série (July–December 1944), 203–204, fig. 10. Marcel Aubert, "Mélanges, têtes de statues-colonnes du portail occidental de Saint-Denis," *Bulletin monumental*, CIII (1945), 247, n. 2. James J. Rorimer and W. H. Forsyth, "The Medieval Galleries," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, XII, n.s. (February, 1954), 128, repr. 130. Willibald Sauerländer, "Die Marienkronungsportale von Senlis und Mantes," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XX (1958), p. 126, abb. 70. Louis Grodecki, "La 'Premier sculpture gothique,' Wilhelm Vöge et l'état actuel des problèmes," *Bulletin monumental*, CXVII (1959), 279, 282, repr. 279.

III-26 page 96

Two Semi-Circular Plaques. Troyes (Aube), Trésor de la cathédral de SS. Pierre et Paul.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, 1959: *L'Art en Champagne au moyen-âge*, no. 93, pl. XVII. Barcelona, Museo de Cataluña, 1961: El arte románico, no. 429, pl. XXXVI. Cologne, 1963: *Monumenta Judaica*, nos. 24A–45A. Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1965: *Les Trésors des églises de France*, no. 173, pl. 76.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Didron, "Symbolisme chrétien, les quatre éléments," *Annales archéologique*, XVIII (1858), 232–244. Alfred Gaußen, *Portefeuille archéologique de la Champagne* (Bar-sur-Aube, 1861), Chapitre II, "Emaux," p. 3, pl. 19 [Elie plaque only]. E. LeBrun-Dalbanne, *Recherches sur le symbolisme et l'histoire de quelques émaux du Trésor de Troyes* (Troyes, 1862), p. 17, pl. IV. Wilhelm Molsdorf, *Christliche Symbolik du mittelalterlichen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1926), pp. 13, 14, 60, 67. Louis Réau, *L'Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1956), vol. II, Part 1, pp. 351, 352. M. Eschapse, "Le Trésor de la Cathédrale de Troyes," *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, I, Nouv. Série II (1956), p. 36, repr. Louis Grodecki, "Les Vitraux de Châlons-sur-Marne et l'art Mosan," *Actes du XIX^e Congrès international d'histoire de l'art* (Paris, 1958), pp. 165–167. Mireille Jottrand, "Les émaux du Trésor de la Cathédrale de Troyes décorent-ils les tombeaux des comtes de Champagne?," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6 Per., LXV (May–June 1965), pp. 258–264.

III-27 page 98

Columnar Figure of an Apostle. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

burnished, as in metal work, in contrast to its column, which was left with a rougher surface. This polished surface is clearly evident on portions of the head, the halo, and the upper part of the robe.

In an earlier article, Sauerländer found a certain reflection of Mosan art in the left portal as well as the Coronation of the Virgin portal at Mantes.⁶ The comparisons cited included a portrait of a physician in a manuscript now in the British Museum (MS. Harley 1585, fol. 13), an ivory book cover on the Gospels of Afflighem (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS. 1184), chandelier plates at Aachen, and the Bible of Floreffe. These works have been dated by Hanns Swarzenski circa 1160, circa 1170, circa 1165, and circa 1155 respectively.⁷ Many more comparisons might present themselves, if needed, to underscore the validity of Sauerländer's thesis that many features at Mantes owe a debt to the arts of northeast France and the valley of the Meuse. The points of comparison include the converging V folds, the treatment of the head and hair, the modeling of form, and proportion. Many Mosan works come to mind from the Stavelot Bible of 1097, the font of Renier of Huy of 1107–1118, and enamels such as the small enameled base for the cross of Saint-Bertin, circa 1170, which imperfectly reflects the lost Great Cross with a

⁶ Willibald Sauerländer, "Die Marienkronungsportale von Senlis und Mantes," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XX (1958), 141 ff.

⁷ Hanns Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (Chicago, 1954), nos. 483, 390, 427, 389 respectively.

jeweled and enameled base erected for Abbot Suger at Saint-Denis.⁸

All of the Mosan and northeast French features which Sauerländer observed at Mantes can also be seen in the second series of sculptures at Châlons. This is not surprising, as Louis Grodecki has already documented Mosan inroads in stained glass at Châlons.⁹ Furthermore, at least one other parallel can be cited in Champagne in the enamel half medallions at Troyes (see cat. no. III-26). These observations leave us with an apparent enigma—the very same formal apparatus cited as coming from Saint-Denis "Porte des Valois" and influencing Mantes, Senlis, Sens, and Châlons also has been observed as emanating from northeast France and the valley of the Meuse to Mantes and also now to Châlons. One way out would be to admit a Northern influence at Saint-Denis' "Porte des Valois," possibly as a result of the presence of the Mosan work commissioned by Suger—the base for the Great Cross. Taking together the development of the liberation of volume and the linear treatment of drapery in the northern areas in the so-called minor arts, not only in Mosan works but also in such northeast French works as the Missal of Maroilles produced at either Saint Amand or Arras, circa 1160 (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS. 341), we can observe a common tendency which might well have been drawn upon by several of the ateliers of the Ile-de-France as well as those working in Champagne during the second half of the twelfth century.

EX COLLECTION: Lucien Demotte.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: William M. Milliken, "French Gothic Sculpture in the Museum," *CMA Bulletin*, vi (January–February 1919), 7, 9–10. Willibald Sauerländer, "Eine Saulenfigur aus Châlons-sur-Marne im Museum in Cleveland (Ohio)," *Pantheon*, XXI (May–June 1963), 143–148, figs. 3, 4, 6, 7. Harry Bober, "Medieval Art at Cleveland," *Apollo*, LXVIII, no. 22 (December 1963), 448–450 repr. Léon Pressouyre, "Fouilles du cloître de Notre-Dame-en-Vaux de Châlons-sur-Marne," *Bulletin de la Société national des Antiquaires* (1964), p. 26 n. 3.

⁸ See Rosalie B. Green "Ex Unque Leonem," *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York, 1961), pp. 157–169, pls. 54–57.

⁹ Louis Grodecki, "Les vitraux de Châlons-sur-Marne et l'art Mosan," *Actes du XIX Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art* (1958).

III-28 page 100

Processional Cross. Saint-Julien-aux-Boix (Corrèze), Chapel of Saint Pierre-ès-Liens.

EX COLLECTION: Pénières.

EXHIBITION: Paris, Petit Palais, 1900: Exposition universelle rétrospective de l'art français.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: René Fage, "La croix processionnelle de Saint-Julien-aux-Boix (Corrèze)," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Comptes Rendus* (1926), pp. 296–304. *Le Corrèzien* (Tulle, January 4, 1927). Victor Forot letter, *Le Corrèzien* (Tulle, January 6, 1927). F. Deshoulières, "Chronique," *Bulletin monumental* (1927), p. 172. Paul Thoby, *Le Crucifix des origins au Concile de Trente* (Nantes, 1959), p. 105, pl. LXIV, no. 146.

III-29 page 102

Head from a Columnar Figure. Limoges (Haute-Vienne), Musée municipal.

EXHIBITIONS: Tokyo, 1954–1955: *L'art français au Japon*, no. 105. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1957–1958: *Chefs-d'œuvre romans des Musées de Province*, no. 72, pl. xi (1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paul Ducourtieux, "Musée Adrien Dubouché," *Congrès archéologique de France*, LXXXIV, *Limoges*, 1921 (1923), 63 repr. *Guide du Musée municipal de Limoges*, ed. 1955, p. 34, no. 2, pl. VIII; ed. 1958, no. 5, pl. VIII. Pierre Pradel, *Sculptures romanes des Musées de France* (Paris, 1958), no. 26, pl. 37.

III-30 page 104

Plaque: Hugo Lacerta and Etienne de Muret. Paris, Musée National des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny.

EXHIBITION: Rome, Bibliothèque Apostolique Vaticane, 1963: *Emaux de Limoges du Moyen-Age*, no. 12.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Edmond du Sommerard, *Catalogue, Musée des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny* (Paris, 1883), no. 4493. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, *Emaux limousins champlevés des XII^e à XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1950), pp. 12, 13, 28, 68, pl. 3 (detail). Geneviève F. Souchal, "Les Emaux de Grandmont au XIII^e siècle," *Bulletin monumental*, CXX (October–December 1962), 339–357, figs. 2, 4; CXXI (January–March 1963), 41–64, 123–150, 219–235, 307–329; CXXII (1964), 7–35, 129–159, *passim*. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, "Emaillerie champlevé méridionale, maîtres et ateliers, note sur les méthodes de recherche," *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, XCI (1964), 66–67.

III-31 page 105

Cross. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: B. Meyers. Spitzer, Paris (sale, Paul Chevallier, Paris, April 17–June 16, 1893, no. 228). Arnold Seligman, Rey and Co.

EXHIBITIONS: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1936: The Twentieth Anniversary Exhibition, no. 13. New York, Museum of Contemporary Crafts, 1959: Enamels, no. 8. Seattle, World's Fair, 1962: Masterpieces of Art, no. 8 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Charles de Linas, "Les Crucifix champlevés polychromes, en plate peinture, et les croix émaillées," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 4^e livraison (1885). Charles de Linas, "L'Emaillerie limousine," *Bulletin de la Société d'Art et d'Histoire du Diocèse de Liège*. Edouard Garnier, *Histoire de la Verrerie et de l'émaillerie* (Tours, 1886), pp. 405, 407, fig. 80. Léon Palustre, "Orfèvrerie religieuse," *La Collection Spitzer* (Paris, 1890), I, 102, no. 17, pl. VI (in color). Ernst Rupin, *L'Oeuvre de Limoges* (Paris, 1890), pp. 278–280, fig. 337. William M. Milliken, *CMA Bulletin* XI (February 1924), 30–33, repr. 36–37; XIII (April 1926), repr. 74. William M. Milliken,

Connoisseur, LXXVI (October 1926), 67, repr. 117. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, *Emaux Limousins champlevés des XII^e à XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1950), p. 30. Paul Thoby, *Les croix limousines* (Paris, 1953), pp. 13–14, 15, 23–24, 44, 59, 97–98, no. 14, pl. X. Paul Thoby, *Le crucifix, des origines au Concile de Trente* (Nantes, 1959), pp. 104, 250, no. 142, pl. LXIII. Geneviève François Souchal, "Les émaux de Grandmont au XII^e siècle," *Bulletin monumental*, CXXII (1964), 22, 28. Philippe Verdier, "Limoges Enamels from the Order of Grandmont," *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, XVII (May 1965).

III-32 page 108

Reliquary Châsse of Saint Stephen. Guéret (Creuse), Musée archéologique.

impact on the Malval Châsse from Mosan art and its areas of influence because of the existence nearby of the Limoges Sacramentary of the Cathedral of Saint Etienne since circa 1100. However, we can say that in this case and contrary to common American assumptions, this Limoges enamel was hardly *retardataire*, but was close to the crest wave of stylistic developments which dominated the Lorraine, Champagne, and in specific instances, the Ile-de-France.

EXHIBITIONS: Limoges, Musée, 1948: Emaux limousins, no. 16. Barcelona, Museo de Cataluña, 1961: El arte románico, no. 431, pl. XXXVI. Paris, Notre-Dame, 1963: Notre-Dame de Paris, Exposition du Huitième Centenaire, no. 9. Rome, Bibliothèque Apostolique Vaticane, 1963: Emaux de Limoges, no. 22, pl. XI.

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III-33 page 110

Reliquary-Monstrance. Saint-Sulpice-les-Feuilles (Haute Vienne), église.

INVENTORIES OF GRANDMONT: 1495, no. 51; 1515, no. 51; 1566, no. 29; 1575, no. 48; 1611, no. 45; 1639, no mention; 1666, no. XLVII.

EXHIBITIONS: Limoges, 1886: Exposition scientifique et artistique, 358

no. 3. Paris, Palais National des Arts, 1937: Chefs d'œuvre de l'art français, no. 1195. Limoges, Musée municipal de Limoges, 1948: Exposition émaux limousins, XII^e, XIII^e, XIV^e siècles, no. 11, pl. 3, fig. 33. Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1965: Les Trésors des églises de France, no. 374, pl. 70.

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III-34 page 112

Angel of the Annunciation. Toulouse (Haute-Garonne), Musée des Augustins.

EXHIBITION: Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1962: Cathédrales, no. 31 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Joan Bergos, *L'escultura a la Sen Vella de Lleida* (Barcelona, 1935), pp. 16, 146, 147, n. 11. Paul Mesplé, *Les sculptures romanes*, Toulouse, Musée des Augustins (Paris, 1961), no. 248 (gives other previous literature).

III-35 page 114

Eucharistic Coffret. Limoges (Haute-Vienne), Musée de Limoges.

EX COLLECTIONS: Bardonnaud, Limoges. Sociétés royale d'agriculture de Limoges, 1846. Musée national Adrien-Dubouché. Musée municipal since 1951.

EXHIBITIONS: Limoges, Musée, 1886: Exposition, Sciences et arts,

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III-36 page 116

Plaque from a Châsse showing the Crucifixion and the Martyrdom of Saint Thomas Becket near the altar at Canterbury Cathedral, December 29, 1170. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: Tolin. M. G. Chalandon, Lyons. Adolph Loewi, Los Angeles.

EXHIBITION: Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts, 1965: Images of the Saints, no. 4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gaston Migeon, "La collection de M. G. Chalandon," *Les Arts*, IV (June 1905), 28, repr. 19, no. 3. William M. Milliken, "A Champlevé Enamel Plaque," *CMA Bulletin*, XXXIX (January 1952), 7-8, 13, 9 repr. Charles P. Parkhurst, "Preliminary Notes on Three Early Limoges Enamels at Oberlin," *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, IX (Spring 1952), p. 101, no. 5; p. 101, n. 10 (continued), no. 5; p. 104, n. 15.

III-37 page 118

Bearded Head of a Prophet (Moses?). Mantes (Seine-et-Oise), Dépôt de la Collégiale Notre-Dame de Mantes.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Musées nationaux, 1937: Exposition inter-

nationale, no. 961. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1962: Cathédrales, no. 35 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: André Rhein, *Nôtre-Dame de Mantes* (Paris, Petites Monographies, 1932), pp. 48-59. Marcel Aubert, "Têtes gothiques de Senlis et de Mantes," *Bulletin monumental*, XCII (1938), 8-9, repr. Jean Bony, "La Collégiale de Mantes, les circonstances historiques," *Congrès archéologique*, CIV (1946), 201. Marcel Aubert, *La sculpture française au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1946), p. 173 repr. Willibald Sauerländer, "Die Marienkrönungsportale von Senlis und Mantes," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XX (1958), 148-149, fig. 89. Willibald Sauerländer, "Art antique et sculpture autour de 1200, Saint-Denis, Lisieux, Chartres," *Art de France*, I (1961), 51, figs. 15, 16.

III-38 page 120

Group of Apostles and Angels. Saint-Gilles (Gard), Musée de la maison romane.

Relics brought back from the Holy Land after 1187 were eventually distributed to various churches, and the recipients in the Midi certainly must have received them with great emotion, a possibility that may be reflected in the prominence given the instruments of the Passion in the preserved relief. Something of the fervor of the times may also be felt in the group of apostles who, while transfixed by Christ also are humbled and made almost to tremble as they half-rise from a sitting position. Unlike the resigned apostles in the reliefs in the museum at Montpellier, the present series seem to take an active role in the subject of the larger composition. Gouron suggests that there may have been an intercessory significance to the upturned gaze of the youthful Saint John, an intercession for the local population at the moment of Judgment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Marcel Gouron, "Decouverte du Tympan de l'église Saint-Martin à Saint-Gilles," *Annales du Midi*, LXII (April 1950), 115-120, repr. Richard Hamann, *Die Abteikirche von St. Gilles und ihre kunstlerische Nachfolge* (Berlin, 1955), I, 251-254, abb. 320. Fernand Benoit, "Provence," in Marcel Aubert et al., *L'art roman en France* (Paris, 1961), p. 419, repr.

CHAPTER IV High Gothic Synthesis and the New Monumental Art

IV-1 page 124

Head of an Apostle. The Art Institute of Chicago.

proposed that one of the prominent sources for the figural style of the adjacent Coronation Portal was Byzantine ivories of the Mace-

donian renaissance. Now Professor Greenhill adds the newly-understood apostles of circa 1200 from the Judgment Portal a few paces away.

The same author also states that the style represented by the two torsos and the Chicago Head is not Parisian in origin but the product

of an atelier coming from northeast France, possibly the Anchin-Tournai area. The fragments are rightly connected with the classicizing style of a large group of works in various media dating from the late twelfth to the mid-thirteenth century.⁴ The style has been traditionally and especially associated with the area between the Marne and the Meuse valleys. Dr. Greenhill finds the closest stylistic analogies in objects datable circa 1200, including the metalwork sculptures of Nicholas of Verdun and painted figures in the Missal of Anchin and the Psalter of Queen Ingeborg. The atelier of the apostle figures on the Judgment Portal may have come from the same northeast French area and may have, to quote Dr. Greenhill, "the distinction of having first translated the style of the Ingeborg Psalter into monumental dimensions." This realization leads Dr. Greenhill to a reaffirmation of the primacy of Paris over Chartres proposed by Sauerländer and reopens "the entire question of direct Paris influence on Reims independent of Amiens." This study is also important for a continuation of the classicistic style of the Ingeborg Psalter, and the apostle sculptures may be seen in the Noyon Missal leaf and in certain Limoges copper-gilt reliefs (see cat. nos. IV-14, 16, 17).

EX COLLECTION: Dr. Jacob Hirsch, New York.

EXHIBITION: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1940: Arts of the Middle Ages, 1000-1400, no. 175.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Meyric R. Rogers, *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, XXXIX (March 1945), 36 repr. Meyric R. Rogers and Oswald Goetz, *Handbook to the Lucy Maud Buckingham Collection* (Chicago, 1945), p. 62, no. 6, repr. frontispiece, pls. x, xi. "Two Stone Heads from the Lucy Maud Buckingham Medieval Collection," *Art Quarterly*, VIII (Winter 1945), 79-80, repr. 78. *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, XL (January 1946), 22. "Medieval Sculpture in the Buckingham Collection," *Connoisseur*, CXX (September 1947), p. 53, fig. VII. Eleanor S. Greenhill, "The Provenance of a Gothic Head at the Art Institute of Chicago," *Art Bulletin*, XLVIII (June 1966), repr.

⁴ Otto Homburger, "Zur Stilbestimmung der figurlichen Kunst Deutschlands und des westlichen Europas im Zeitraum Zwischen 1190 und 1250," *Formositas Romanica* (Frauenfeld, 1959), p. 35ff.

IV-2 page 126

Plaque: *Death of the Virgin*. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

EX COLLECTION: Révoil (acquired 1828).

EXHIBITION: Rome, Bibliothèque Apostolique Vaticane, 1963: Emaux de Limoges du moyen-âge, cat. no. 86, pl. XXXI.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. J. Marquet de Vassellot, *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue sommaire de l'orfèvrerie, de l'émaillerie et des gemmes du moyen-âge au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1914), no. 92. Gislaine Yver, "L'Emaillerie," *L'Orfèvrerie la joaillerie* (Paris, 1942), p. 66 repr. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, *Emaux limousins champlevés des XII^e, XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1950), pp. 49, 63, 64, 74, pl. 40. Peter Lasko, "A Notable Private Collection," *Apollo*, LXXIX (June 1964), 473. Hermann Schnitzler, Peter Block and Charles Ratton, *Email, Goldschmiede und Metallarbeiten, Europäisches Mittelalter, Samm-*

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IV-3 page 128

Head of a Prophet (?). Senlis (Oise), Musée de Haubergier.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Palais National des Arts, 1937: Chefs d'œuvre de l'art français, no. 962. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1962: Cathédrales, no. 44 repr.

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IV-4 page 130

Baptism of Christ. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

EX COLLECTIONS: Germeau (sale, Paris, 1868, no. 51). Countess Dzialynski, Château de Goluchow, Poland. Prince Wladislaw Czartoryski, Château de Goluchow, Poland.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, 1865: L'Exposition de l'union central des Beaux-Arts appliqués à l'industrie, no. 617. Paris, 1880: L'Exposition de 1880.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alfred Darcel, "Musée rétrospectif, le moyen-âge," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XIX (1865), 439. J. B. Giraud, *Les Arts du Métal* (Paris, 1881), pl. 3. Edouard Garnier, *Histoire de la verrerie et de l'émaillerie* (Tours, 1886), pp. 426 ff. Ernest Rupin, *L'Oeuvre de Limoges* (Paris, 1890), p. 358, fig. 423. Emile Molinier, *Collection du château de Goluchow* (Paris, 1903), pl. 6. Georg Swarzenski, "A Masterpiece of Limoges," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, XLIX (February 1951), 17-25, fig. 1. *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, LV (Autumn-Winter 1957), no. 32 repr. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, "Innovations du premier art gothique dans l'oeuvre de Limoges," *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sciences religieuses*, LXXIII (1964-1965), 141-142. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, in *Monuments historiques de la France* (1966), in press.

IV-5 page 130

The Last Supper. Paris, Musée National des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny.

EX COLLECTION: Fonds Alexandre du Sommerard.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. du Sommerard, *Catalogue, Musée des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny* (Paris, 1881), no. 4994. Ernest Rupin, *L'Oeuvre de Limoges* (Paris, 1890), p. 363, fig. 428. Elisa Maillard, "L'Orfèvrerie française des origines à la renaissance," *L'Orfèvrerie la joaillerie* (Paris, 1942), p. 20 repr. Georg Swarzenski, "A Masterpiece of Limoges," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, XLIX (February 1951), 24, n. 2. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, "Innovations du premier art gothique dans l'oeuvre de Limoges," *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sciences religieuses*, LXXIII (1964–1965), 141–142. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, in *Monuments historiques de la France* (1966), in press.

IV-6 page 130

The Betrayal of Christ. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.

EX COLLECTIONS: Daguerre, Paris (until 1925). Henry Walters, Baltimore.

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1956–1957: 4000 Years of Modern Art, no. 100.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Walters Art Gallery, *Handbook of the Collection* (Baltimore, 1936), p. 71. Georg Swarzenski, "A Masterpiece of Limoges," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, XLIX, February 1951), 24, n. 3. Sam Hunter, "A Plaque from Limoges," *The Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin*, XLVII (July–December 1958), 30. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, "Innovations du premier art gothique dans l'oeuvre de Limoges," *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sciences religieuses*, LXXIII (1964–1965), 141–142. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, in *Monuments historiques de la France* (1966), in press.

IV-7 page 130

The Flagellation of Christ. Paris, Musée National des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny.

EX COLLECTION: Fonds Alexandre du Sommerard.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. du Sommerard, *Catalogue, Musée des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny* (Paris, 1881), no. 4993. Ernest Rupin, *L'Oeuvre de Limoges* (Paris, 1890), pp. 364, 365, fig. 430. Georg Swarzenski, "A Masterpiece of Limoges," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, XLIX (February 1951), 24, fig. 6. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, "Innovations du premier art gothique dans l'oeuvre de Limoges," *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sciences religieuses*, LXXIII (1964–1965), 141–142. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, in *Monuments historiques de la France* (1966), in press.

IV-8 page 130

The Entombment of Christ. Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

EX COLLECTIONS: Germeau (sale, Paris, 1868, no. 51). Countess Dzialynski, Château de Goluchow, Poland. Prince Wladislaw Czartoryski, Château de Goluchow, Poland. Sir Kenneth Clark, London.

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IV-9 page 134

Head of a Prophet or an Apostle. Strasbourg (Bas-Rhin), Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame.

EXHIBITIONS: Strasbourg, Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame, 1948: Exposition d'art religieux du moyen-âge, no. 1, 2, or 3. Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1948: Chefs d'œuvre de l'art alsacien et de l'art lorrain, nos. 3, 4. Delft, Stedelijk Museum "Het Prinsenhof," 1949: Elzasser Schoonheid, no. 26.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hans F. Secker, "Bruchstücke verloren geglaubter Bildwerke des Strassburger Münsters," *Monatshefte für Kunswissenschaft*, IV (1911), 546–549, pl. 122, fig. 11. Otto Schmidt, *Gotische Skulpturen des Strassburger Münsters* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1924), I, pl. 13 b; II, p. vi, no. 2. Rudolf Kautzsch, "Ein frühes Werk des Meisters der Strassburger Ekklesia," *Oberrheinische Kunst*, III (1928), 133–148, pl. 57, fig. 2. Richard Hamann and Hans Weigert, *Das Strassburger Münster und seine Bildwerke* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 66–68, pl. 33; (1942), p. 35, fig. 33. Erwin Panofsky, "Zur künstlerischen Abkunft des Strassburger 'Ecclesiameisters,'" *Oberrheinische Kunst*, IV (1929–1930), 124–129, pl. 60, fig. 3. Kurt Bauch, "Zur Chronologie der Strassburger Münsterplastik im XIII. Jahrhundert," *Oberrheinische Kunst*, VI (1932), 5–8. *La cathédrale de Strasbourg, le monument, son histoire et son iconographie* (Strasbourg, 1932), pl. XLIV. Hans Haug, Robert Will, Théodore Rieger, Victor Beyer, Paul Ahnne, *La cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg, 1957), pp. 73, 74, pls. 49, 66. Victor Beyer, *La sculpture médiévale du Musée du l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame* (Strasbourg, 1963), no. 66, repr.

IV-10 page 136

Head of the Prophet Jeremiah. Paris, Dépôt des Monuments historiques.

EX COLLECTIONS: Leprévost. Lucien Bégule, Lyon.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1953: *Vitraux de France du XI^e au XVI^e siècle*, no. 17, pl. 11. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1962: *Cathédrales*, no. 148.

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IV-11 page 138

Head of a Bishop. Reims (Marne), Dépôt lapidaire de la Cathédrale.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, 1959: *L'art en Champagne au moyen-âge*, no. 17. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1962: *Cathédrales*, no. 67.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Louise Lefrançois-Pillon, *Les sculptures de Reims* (Paris, 1928), p. 13. J. H. L. Muller, *Joyaux de sculpture, Reims* (Paris, 1954), pls. IV-VI. Anne Paillard-Prache, "Têtes sculptées du XIII^e siècle provenant de la cathédrale de Reims," *Bulletin monumental*, CXVI (1958), 36, repr. 35.

IV-12 page 140

Head of a Bishop. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

EXHIBITION: Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1962: *Cathédrales*, no. 57 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis, "La Cathédrale de Soissons," *Congrès archéologique* (Reims, 1911), I, 318-337. Marcel Aubert and Michèle Beaulieu, *Description raisonnée des sculptures du moyen-âge, de la Renaissance et des temps modernes*, I, *Moyen-âge* (Paris, 1950), p. 107, no. 151, repr.

IV-13 page 142

Recumbent Tomb Statue of a Knight. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTION: George Grey Barnard, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Martin Weinberger, *The George Grey Barnard Collection* (New York, 1941), p. 15, no. 72, pl. XVIII. Fiske Kimball, "The Barnard Collection," *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin*, XL (March 1945), 50-53, repr. 50. *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin*, XLIII (January 1948), repr. 26.

IV-14 page 144

Leaf from a Missal, for Noyon use. Anonymous loan.

EX COLLECTIONS: Jacques Rosenthal. Erwin Rosenthal until 1945.

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 1949: *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, no. 63, pl. XXIV. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum and Houghton Library, 1955: *Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts*, no. 27, pl. 10.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Graf Vitzthum Geog, "Fragment eines Missale von Noyon mit Miniaturen von Villard de Honnecourt," *Beiträge zur Forschung: Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Antiquariat Jacques Rosenthal* (Munich, 1944), I, IV-V, 102-113, pls. XIV-XVI. Hans R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt* (Vienna, 1935), pp. 217-219, repr. figs. 10, 17. Peter Bloch, "Nachwirkungen des alten Bundes in der christlichen Kunst," *Monumenta Judaica, 2000 Jahre geschichte und Kultur der Juden am Rhein, Handbuch* (Köln, 1963), p. 754, fig. 65.

IV-15 page 146

Enthroned Madonna and Child. Paris, Musée du Petit-Palais.

EX COLLECTIONS: Benjamin Fillon until 1882 (cat. no. 249). Auguste Dutuit until 1902.

EXHIBITION: Paris, Petit-Palais, 1950: *La Vierge dans l'art français*, no. 239.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alfred Darcel, "Le moyen-âge et la renaissance au Trocadéro," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XVIII, 2^e série (1878), 287 repr. Gaston Migeon, "Les Objets d'art de la collection Dutuit," *Les Arts*, I (December 1902), pp. VII, 30. P. Frantz Marcou, "La collection Dutuit, la moyen-âge et la renaissance," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXIX, 3^e série (1903), 137. Raymond Koehlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), I, 50 ff.; II, no. 7; III, pl. III. Henry Lapauze, *Catalogue sommaire des collections Dutuit, Palais des Beaux-Arts* (Paris, new edition, 1925), no. 1331, repr. Louis Grodecki, *Ivoires français* (Paris, 1947), p. 81, pl. XXI.

IV-16 page 148

Relief Appliquéd Figure of Saint Paul with Background Plaque. Paris, Musée du Petit-Palais.

EX COLLECTIONS: Gerneau. Auguste et Dutuit, until 1902.

EXHIBITION: Rome, Bibliothèque Apostolique Vaticane, 1963: *Emaux de Limoges*, no. 91.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gaston Migeon, "Les Objets d'art de la collection Dutuit," *Les Arts*, I (December 1902), pp. VII, 31, repr. 8. Henry Lapauze, *Catalogue sommaire des collections Dutuit* (Paris, 1925), no. 1296. J. J. Marquet de Vassellot, *Les crosses limousins du XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1941), pp. 153, 155 n. 2, pl. XXXIV. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, *Emaux limousins* (Paris, 1950), pp. 21, 49-50, 67, pl. 44. Geneviève Souchal, "Les Emaux de Grandmont au XII^e siècle," *Bulletin monumental*, CXXI (April-June 1963), 126, 128, 129, 146. Geneviève Souchal, "L'Email de Guillaume de Treignac, Sixième Prieur de Grandmont," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXIII (February 1964), p. 76, fig. 7. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, "Emaillerie champlevé méridionale; maitres et ateliers, note sur les méthodes de

recherche," *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, xcI (1964), 68–69.

IV-17 page 148

Relief Appliquéd Group of the Enthroned Madonna and Child. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: Mrs. Victoria Hantschel, Tegernsee, Oberbayern. Wildenstein & Co., New York.

EXHIBITION: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1962: Year in Review, no. 31 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: "La Chronique des Arts," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXI, VI^e Period, no. 1129 (February 1963), no. 91, p. 23 repr. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, "Innovations du premier art gothique dans l'oeuvre de Limoges," *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sciences religieuses*, LXXIII (1964–1965), 141–142.

IV-18 page 148

Relief Appliquéd Figure of a Deacon Saint, Transformed into a Statuette Reliquary. Les Billanges (Haute-Vienne), église.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Palais national des arts, 1937: Exposition internationale, Chefs-d'œuvre de l'art français, no. 1198. Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1965: Les Trésors des églises de France, no. 357, pl. 69.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abbé Texier, "L'Orfèvrerie au XIII^e siècle," *Annales archéologique*, XIII (November–December 1853), 323–325, repr. 322. Léon Palustre and X. Barbier de Montault, *Orfèvrerie et émaillerie limousines* (Paris, n.d.), XXIV^e partie, pl. xxiv. Abbé Texier, "Grandmont, orfèvrerie et trésor de l'abbaye de," *Dictionnaire d'orfèvrerie, de gravure et de ciselure chrétiennes* in *Encyclopédie théologique de Migne*, XXVII (3rd ed; Paris, 1857), cols. 891–893. Didron Aine, "Bronzes et orfèvrerie du moyen-âge," *Annales archéologiques*, XIX (1859), 28–29, 28 repr. L. Guibert and Mieusement, *Exposition rétrospective de Limoges* (Limoges, 1886), pp. 18 ff., pl. 15. Louis Guibert, "L'Orfèvrerie limousine et les émaux d'orfèvre à l'exposition rétrospective de Limoges," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, XIII, 2^e série (Limoges, 1888), 217. Ernest Rupin, *L'Oeuvre de Limoges* (Paris, 1890), pp. 150, 306 (fig. 377), pp. 475–477 (figs. 525, 526). André Demartial, "L'Orfèvrerie émaillée de Limoges," *Congrès archéologique*, Session 84 (Limoges, 1921), p. 436, pl. p. 437. Joan Evans, *Art in Medieval France, 987–1498* (London, 1948), pl. 119. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, *Emaux limousins champlevés des XII^e à XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1950), cf. p. 49, pl. 46. Geneviève Souchal, "Les émaux de Grandmont au XII^e siècle," *Bulletin monumental*, CXXI (1963), 62–64, fig. 10. Geneviève Souchal, "L'Email de Guillaume de Treignac, Sixième Prieur de Grandmont," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXIII (February 1964), 76, fig. 4.

IV-19 page 152

Front of a Corporal Case or an Antependium Fragment with the Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints and Kneeling Bishop (?). Lyon (Rhône), Treasury of the Cathedral.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Arthur Martin, "Broderie conservé au Musée archiépiscopal de Lyon," *Mélanges d'archéologie d'histoire et de littérature* (Paris, 1856), IV, 262–263, pl. XXVII.

IV-20 page 154

Crosier with Saint Michael. The Detroit Institute of Arts.

EX COLLECTIONS: Debruge-Duménil, Paris. Soltykoff, Paris. F. M. Gontard and R. von Passavant, Frankfurt-am-Main. Madame Walter von Pannwitz, Hartekamp, near Haarlem.

EXHIBITIONS: Frankfurt-am-Main, Kunstmuseum, 1914: Ausstellung alter Goldschmiede Arbeiten, aus Frankfurter Privatbesitz und Kircherschätzen, no. 107. Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Albright-Knox Gallery, 1964–1965: Religious Art, no. 44.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jules Labarte, *Description des objets d'art qui composent la collection Debruge-Duménil* (Paris, 1847), no. 683. Collection Debruge-Duménil, Sale Catalogue (Paris, January–March 1850), no. 683. Didron the Elder, "Manuel des œuvres de bronze et d'orfèvrerie du moyen-âge," *Annales archéologiques*, XIX (1859), 123 repr. Collection Soltykoff, Drouot, Sale Catalogue (Paris, April 1861), no. 195. Alfred Darcel, "La collection Soltykoff," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, X (1861), 294. R. Schilling, "Ausstellung der Sammlung Passavant-Gontard," *Pantheon*, III (April 1929), fig. on p. 184. Georg Swarzenski, *Sammlung R. von Passavant-Gontard* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1929), no. 113, pl. XXXIX. J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, "Trois crosses limousines du XIII^e siècle dessinées par E. Delacroix," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'Art Français* (Paris, 1936), pp. 138–146. J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Les crosses limousines du XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1941), pp. 89, 290, no. 160. Francis W. Robinson, "An Enamelled Crozier of Saint Michael," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, XLI (Summer 1962), 69–71.

IV-21 page 156

Passion of Christ. Sens (Yonne), Dépôt des Monuments historiques.

EX COLLECTION: American private collector, who anonymously gave the window to France in 1954.

EXHIBITION: Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1962: Cathédrales, no. 156 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Louis Grodecki, *Le Monde*, May 8, 1954.

IV-22 page 158

Corbel with a Cowled Head. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

EX COLLECTION: Said to have come from a Strasbourg collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hanns Swarzenski, "Some Recent Accessions," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, LIX (1961), 118.

IV-23 page 160

Châsse, called Châsse du Christ Legislateur. Bouillac (Tarn-et-Garonne), église.

EXHIBITIONS: Montauban, Musée Ingres, 1961: Trésors d'art gothique en Languedoc, no. 3. Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1965: Les trésors des églises de France, no. 521, pl. 110.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jonglar, "Monographie de l'abbaye de Grandseyne," *Mémoires de la Société du Midi de la France*, VII (1853-1860), 179-234. F. Galabert, "Mobilier de l'abbaye de Grandseyne en 1790," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Tarn-et-Garonne*, XXVIII (1900), 318-319. Fernand Pottier, "Les clochers de brique de l'école Toulousaine dans la diocèse de Montauban," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Tarn-et-Garonne*, XXIX (1901), 230. Raymond Rey, "Le trésor de Grandseyne," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XIV (1926), 5 repr., 8. P. Gayne, "L'abbaye de Grandseyne," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Tarn-et-Garonne* (1949), p. 123. Mathieu Mérás and D. Ternois, *Trésors d'art de la Haute-Guyenne* (1956), p. 4, no. 3, pl. v. "L'Exposition Trésors d'art sacré de la Haute-Guyenne et ses problèmes archéologiques," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Tarn-et-Garonne*, LXXXII (1956), 90-91. Mathieu Mérás, "Le trésor de l'abbaye de Grandseyne," *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, II nouv. série (October-December 1956), 225, fig. 4.

IV-24 page 162

Enthroned Madonna and Child. Breuilaufa (Haute-Vienne), église.

EXHIBITIONS: Limoges, Musée municipal de Limoges, 1948: Exposition émaux limousins, XII^e, XIII^e, XIV^e, siècles, no. 17. Rome, Bibliothèque Apostolique Vaticane, 1963: Emaux de Limoges du Moyen-âge, no. 33, pl. XVII. Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1965: Les Trésors des églises de France, no. 359.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Léon Palustre and X. Barbier de Montault, *Orfèvrerie et émaillerie limousines exposée à Limoges en 1886* (Paris, n.d.), 1^{re} partie, pl. XXIII. Louis Guibert, "L'Orfèvrerie limousine et les émaux d'orfèvre à l'exposition rétrospective de Limoges," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, XIII (1888), 2^e série, p. 234. Ernest Rupin, *L'Oeuvre de Limoges* (Paris, 1890), pp. 470, 471, fig. 522. Marie-Madeleine S. Gauthier, *Emaux limousins champlevés des XII^e à XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1950), p. 55. W. L. Hildburg, "Medieval Copper Champlevé Enamelled Images of the Virgin and Child," *Archæologia*, XCVI (1955), 152-153, pl. XLVII.

IV-25 page 164

Portable Altar. Narbonne (Aude), Treasury of the Cathedral of Saint-Just.

EXHIBITIONS: Carcassonne, Musée municipal, 1935: Exposition de l'art religieux audois, no. 188. Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1965: Les trésors des églises de France, no. 603.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Louis de Narbonne, "La cathédrale de St.-Just," *Bulletins de la commission archéologique de Narbonne*, V (1898), 97. Louis de Farcy, "Quelques pièces du trésor de la cathédrale de Narbonne," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, LXII (1912), 38, 39, fig. 2. André Michel, *Histoire de l'art* (Paris, 1927), II, 438, fig. 1037.

CHAPTER V Beginnings of Courtly Art

V-1 page 168

Psalter and Hours of Yolande, Vicomtesse of Soissons, in Latin and French. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.

hand and workshop of Maître Honoré, has yet to be analyzed. (A miniature fragment showing a priest [?] purifying an altar by or very close to Maître Honoré may be seen in the Cleveland Museum's collection [acc. no. 24.428].)

The late fourteenth-century additions to the manuscript contain one striking full-page miniature showing the fall of the rebel angels (folio 404 verso) and two handsome historiated initials showing the Coronation of the Virgin and the Risen Christ as Judge (folios 405 and 427). These, too, need further study, if only for their high quality.

They probably can be assigned to the Paris workshop of Jean Bondol sometime in the last quarter of the century.

EX COLLECTIONS: W. Y. Ottley (sale, London, Sotheby, May 11, 1838, nos. 127 and 2440). Robert S. Holford. Lt. Col. Sir George Holford.

EXHIBITIONS: London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1908: Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts, no. 139, pl. 94. New York, New York Public Library, 1934: The Pierpont Morgan Library Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts, no. 57, pl. 52. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 1949: Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, no. 59, pl. XXVII.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The Holford Collection . . . at Dorchester House and . . . at Westonbirt in Gloucestershire* (London, 1924), no. 4, p. 37,

pls. 8-9. Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1937), II, 1490. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 140, fig. 1, nn. 15³, 23², 127⁵, 278¹. Hans Wentzel, "Die Kornfeldlegende," *Festschrift Kurt Bauch* (Munich, Berlin, 1957), p. 184. Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton, 1951), p. 148, fig. 157. Gerhard Schmidt, *Die Malerschule von St. Florian* (Graz, 1962), pp. 116, 122, 125, fig. 33. Erwin Panofsky, "Mouse Michelangelo Failed to Carve," *Essays in Honor of Karl Lehmann, Marsyas Supplement* (Glückstadt, 1964), I, 244, fig. 2. Lilian M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966), pp. 34, 95, 155, 166, 235, fig. 383.

V-2 page 172

Antiphonary of Beaupré, in Latin. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery. preserved marginalia are illustrated in the recent book on the subject by Lilian M. C. Randall;³ these are identified as "Dives and Lazarus, feast" (folio 60), "... death of Dives" (folio 90), and "Fishmonger: selling fish to woman and boy" (folio 108).

The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons (cat. no. v-1) and the Antiphonary of Beaupré, are two contemporary northeast French works which have much in common in both style and in marginalia interest. However, the Antiphonary, while being more monumental, is still perhaps more delicate and elegant, and its linearism is more relaxed and a little less incisive. The smaller manuscript by its very compactness crowded full of imagery has a more forceful impact. Its imagery is more vivid, its colors are sharper, and its line more expressive. However, in our more lyrical and possibly more harmonious moments, we may prefer the simpler drama and elegance of the gift of the lady of Viane to the Cistercian convent at Beaupré.

EX COLLECTIONS: John Ruskin (acquired before 1853). Mrs. Severn (until 1902 and 1904). Henry Yates Thompson (sale, London, Sotheby's, June 22, 1921, no. 67). A. Chester Beatty (sale, London, Sotheby's, pt. I, June 7, 1932, no. 15). William Randolph Hearst. Presented by the Hearst Foundation in January, 1957 to the Walters Art Gallery.

EXHIBITION: London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1908: Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts, no. 61-62, pl. 54.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: John Ruskin, *Giotto and his Works at Padua in The Works of John Ruskin*, eds. E. T. Cook and A. Wedderburn (London, 1903-1912), XXIV, 83, 84, repr. John Ruskin, *Modern Painters in Works*, VI, figs. 98, 99, 116. John Ruskin, *Works*, XII, p. LXX. Henry Yates Thompson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Twenty Illuminated Manuscripts ... in The Collection of Henry Yates Thompson*, 3rd series, no. LXXXIII (Cambridge, 1907), pp. 55-74. Henry Yates Thompson, *Illustrations from One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson* (London, 1907-

³ Lilian M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966), pp. 91, 100, figs. 153, 154, 185.

1918), VI, pls. XII-XXIII. Eric G. Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty, a Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1927-1930), II, 88-103, no. 63, pls. CXXXIII-CXXXIX. S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935-1937), II, 1688, no. 4. R. S. Loomis and L. H. Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art* (New York, 1938), p. 92, n. 22. Dorothy Miner, "The Antiphonary of Beaupré," *The Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, IX (May 1957), 4-6, repr. W. H. Bond and C. U. Faye, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962), p. 199, nos. 574-577. Lilian M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966), pp. 38, 91, 100, figs. 153, 154, 185.

V-3 page 174

Quadrilobed Plaque. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Helen S. Foote, "A Quatrefoil Medallion of Translucent Enamel," *CMA Bulletin*, XX (March 1933), 38-40, repr.

V-4 page 176

Crosier Head. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hans Wentzel, "Der Augustalis Friedrichs II und die abendländische Glyptic des 13 Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XV (1952), 187, fig. 5.

V-5 page 178

Châsse, called of Saint-Romain. Rouen (Seine-Maritime), Treasury of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame.

EXHIBITION: Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1965: *Les Trésors des églises de France*, no. 210, pl. 112.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pierre A. Floquet, *Histoire du privilége de Saint Romain ...* (Rouen, 1833), 2 vols. including E. H. Langlois' *Remarques sur la châsse de Saint Romain* and *Description de la chapelle de Saint Romain*, also A. Deville's *Notice sur la châsse de Saint Romain*. Abbé Texier, "Fierté de Saint Romain," *Dictionnaire d'orfèvrerie, de gravure et de ciselure chrétiennes* in *Encyclopédie théologique de Migne* (3rd edition; Paris, 1857), XXVII, cols. 736-758. Jean Taralon, "La cathédrale de Rouen, le mobilier et le trésor," *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, II, nouv. série (April-June 1956), 125-136. Jean Taralon, "Note complémentaire sur la châsse de Saint-Romain," *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, II, nouv. série (October-December 1956), 235-237.

V-6 page 180

Angel of the Annunciation. Janville (Oise), église.

EXHIBITION: Paris, Petit Palais, 1950: *La Vierge dans l'art français*, no. 149, pl. 21.

V-7 page 182

Virgin and Child. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

EX COLLECTIONS: Duval. Alexander Lenoir (sale, 1837, no. 193). Debruge-Duménil (sale, 1849, no. 146). Soltykoff (sale, 1861, no. 225).

EXHIBITION: London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1932: Exhibition of French Art (London, 1933), no. 1065, pl. 239.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Raymond Koechlin, *Les Ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), I, 93; II, no. 95 (cites previous bibliography); III, pl. XXXI. Joan Evans, *Art in Medieval France, 987-1498* (London, New York, and Toronto, 1948), p. 205, fig. 192. Louis Grodecki, *Ivoires français* (Paris, 1947), p. 88, pl. XXVI. Joseph Natanson, *Gothic Ivories of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1951), p. 19, fig. 24. *Les Merveilles du Louvre* (Paris, 1958), I, 275 repr. O. Beigbeder, *Ivory* (New York, 1965), pp. 34-35, fig. 27 on p. 30.

V-8 page 184

Virgin and Child. Grandrif (Puy-de-Dôme), église.

EXHIBITION: Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1965: Les trésors des églises de France, no. 443.

V-9 page 186

Two Altar Angels. Princeton (New Jersey), Princeton University, The Art Museum.

In 1959 Richard H. Randall rightly questioned an attribution to Reims of the entire number of such wooden angels, all of the provenances of which, where known, were quite different from that of Reims. They seem to come mostly from regions generally north of Paris, the Valley of Oise, Picardy, and Artois. Now added to the evidence marshaled by Mr. Randall, we may consider the discovery of the Saudemont angels and their localization at Arras, together with those of Humbert and one example in the Louvre.

EX COLLECTION: Baron Arthur Schickler, Martinvaast Castle, Cherbourg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Marcel Aubert, "Une Nouvelle statue d'ange de la fin du XIII^e siècle au Musée du Louvre," *Monument Piot*, XXXI (1930), repr. 125 (fig. 6), 127. Richard H. Randall, Jr., "Thirteenth-Century Altar Angels," *Records of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, XVIII (1959), 2-16, fig. 1.

V-10 page 188

Virgin and Suckling Christ Child. Rouen (Seine-Maritime), Musée des Antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure.

EX COLLECTIONS: Jouenne, Lisieux (until 1854). François, Rouen. André Pottier, Rouen.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, 1878: Exposition universelle. Paris, 1889: Exposition universelle. Paris, 1900, Exposition universelle rétrospective de l'art français, no. 87. Rouen, Musée de peinture, 1931: Exposition d'art religieux ancien, no. 108. Paris, Palais national des arts, 1937: Chefs-d'œuvre de l'art français, no. 1257. Paris, Petit Palais, 1950: La Vierge dans l'art français, no. 243, pl. 23. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor schone Kunsten, 1954: De Madone in de Kunst, no. 279, pl. XXV.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Alfred Darcel, "Le moyen âge et la renaissance au Trocadéro," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XVIII, 2^e série (1878), 284. J. J. Vernier, *Guide du visiteur, Musée des Antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure* (Rouen, 1923), p. 24, pl. VII. Raymond Koechlin, *Les Ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), I, 103; II, no. 91; III, pl. XXIX. Tardy, *Les ivoires, évolution décorative du 1^{re} siècle à nos jours* (Paris, 1966), p. 61 repr.

V-11 page 190

Head of an Apostle. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

mon vocabulary in the details which are utilized in different combinations throughout. Thus two figures in the Toulouse series may exhibit similar treatment of the details of the face, whereas the carving of the hair may be completely different. As a group, however, their faces successfully unite a curious idealism with a powerful realism. The draperies are full and ample, although not so monumental as certain thirteenth-century precursors, such as the series of apostles carved for Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.

The importance of these sculptures and a feature which impresses all modern-day pilgrims to Toulouse is their grandeur and nobility combined with monumentality. Collectively they give a sense of profound conviction and presence, a medieval sobriety and massiveness. This is in spite of the fact that their proportions with their over-large and over-life-size heads make them seemingly humble heirs to the classical tradition which they recall in certain other details. We appreciate them for their "delicious naïveté" filled with tenderness, to paraphrase Rachou, and for their humility saturated with deep thought.

The over-life-size Head of an Apostle from Cleveland, of a similar calcite limestone, must be viewed in relation to this background, especially since it presents several striking parallels. These may be seen in the flared nostrils, in the robustly curvilinear, wig-like hair, in the opposing curled strands within this mass and in the beard, and in the taut flesh areas, interrupted by deep furrows and abruptly stopped by the distinct edges and textures of the hair and beard. Generally speaking, it has a comparable monumental scale and bearing. It has suffered more than most of the sculptures in Toulouse in that it has lost nearly all of the paint as well as the preparatory layers which supported the paint. The stone itself has been pitted and roughened through mild weathering and it has also been subjected to long-term multiple lichen growths. In its present surface, the

Cleveland Head most resembles the eroded surfaces of two specific apostles at Toulouse, the one with a tree branch staff and another who has lost his attributes.⁴ Also the Cleveland Head may have had a halo which was one piece with the same block of stone, judging from the recessed groove across part of the back edge at the top.

Familiar with the previously mentioned problem of forgeries in the "Toulouse style" as published by Mr. Rorimer, the Cleveland Museum obtained two completely independent technical reports made by the laboratories of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and the Intermuseum Laboratory at Oberlin. These confirmed the fact that the Cleveland Head was of ancient origin and that its present surface was due to the accidents of weather, plant growth, and time.

For several years the Cleveland Head was mounted incorrectly—i.e., rigidly frontal with eyes level, like a classical head. In this position and in the photographs showing it in this way, the elements of symmetry, the balance of the opposing curls, were accentuated, as was also the linear character of the Head because of the bright, raking lighting. Experiments have been made more recently, placing the Head in various positions and under different lighting conditions. It now appears that the Head probably originally hung forward over the chest of its lost body. It also seems that the Head was inclined toward its left side. The first theory is confirmed by the beard, which, while broken, clearly was attached at an angle to the front of the figure. The second supposition is supported by the fact that the revealed flesh area of the neck is of greater extent on the right side than on the left, the direction of the tilt. A consideration of the heads in the museum at Toulouse reveals that all were bent forward in a comparable manner, to the left or to the right. In some cases, these latter heads were so inclined that even their halos were tilted too.

Taking into consideration these theories and clues, the rough-cut back plane of the Cleveland sculpture has been aligned vertically both in the exhibition and in the photograph reproduced. In this position the downward slope of the top of the Head with its parted hair⁵ becomes more apparent, and also the nuances of modeling as well as a sense of the massive size of the Head become more in evidence.

All of this cannot prove that the Cleveland Head is the head of the missing apostle of the Rieux series. However, this possibility cannot be ruled out because it resembles so closely in the profile view the head attached to the missing apostle as it appears near the Saint John the Baptist in a view of the Musée des Augustins depicted by a lithograph of 1831 by Adrien Dauzats.⁶

In any case there is no doubt of the stylistic proximity of these works and that the Cleveland Head in all probability came out of the same workshop as that which produced the series of twenty figures for the Chapel of Rieux. This point can be vouched for by comparison with other works in the Musée des Augustins which seem to follow out of the same tradition at a slightly later date. Of the

⁴ Both are reproduced by Rachou, p. 21. See also Monument historiques photograph 85821 and Foto Marburg negative 32913.

⁵ Compare also with M. L. Méras, "La Vierge aux Colombe de Montpezat et la sculpture Toulousaine," *La Revue des Arts*, ix (1959), 57–60, figs. 1, 3.

⁶ Paul Guinard, "El descubrimiento del Languedoc románico y los artistas románticos," *Goya*, no. 43–45 (July–December 1961), repr. p. 139.

two sculptures from the Convent of the Grands-Carmes, one of Saint Paul may be considered in this respect. The Saint Paul takes many of the elements of the Rieux Saint Paul and gives them a special emphasis. The furrowed brow and cascading beard and hair become fluid, less crisp, and the emotional impact of the Saint seems to become one of anger in the later work, which loses the introspective, monumental dignity of the model. Taken in this context, the Cleveland Head seems closer to the Rieux series than to the later work from the Convent of the Grands-Carmes.

When observed in the original under the ambiance of soft, natural light, the Cleveland Head betrays all attempts at sensitive photography just as the Rieux sculptures do. The Cleveland work is one of quiet strength, and in this it is a valued representative of the Gothic tradition of sculpture in Languedoc. Through it we may begin to grasp something of the continuous tradition of sculptors, who worked initially for architects in the *chantiers* or stoneyards of the cathedrals in the thirteenth century. These sculptors later became more independent, leaving the *chantiers* to join sometimes with specific shops, fulfilling the requests of individual clients, both lay and ecclesiastic, for retables, for single statues of personal devotion, and for the religious and funerary monuments such as the large sculptural program for the Chapel of Rieux. These latter works, to which the Cleveland fragment is intimately tied, are worthy successors in their expressive monumentality to the earlier Romanesque achievements; they are also amazing prefigurations of the flowering of sculpture in fifteenth-century Burgundy, which followed the lead of the great sculptor from Haarlem, Claus Sluter.

EXHIBITION: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1960: Year in Review, no. 10.

V-12 page 192

Diptych with Scenes of the Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion, and Resurrection. New York, Mr. and Mrs. Leopold Blumka.

technique.² All of the other larger works which follow seem to illustrate in part a gradual dissolution of quality in their enamels until the poorest example is reached in the enamels of Dreiturmreliquiar in Aachen datable 1360–1370.³

The problems of precise localization are at the moment insoluble, although the field of inquiry can be narrowed down to Paris, northern France, and Aachen for enamels mentioned. The difficulties are multiplied, however, by the simple fact that as the fourteenth century progressed the mobility of artists and of works of art seemed to increase. This mobility and the resulting cross-fertilization of traditions contributed to the phenomena of the so-called International Style of circa 1400. Perhaps it is best to consider each of the enamels in the group a reflection of one common tradition which may have had roots in the northern regions but was given a certain finesse and elegance in a

² See Paul Thoby, *Le Crucifix des Origines au Concile de Trente* (Nantes, 1959), no. 294; Freeman, fig. 12; Steingräber, fig. 8; Ernst Günther Grimme, *Aachener Goldschmiedekunst im Mittelalter* (Cologne, 1947), color pls. 2, 3.

³ Grimme, color pl. 5.

codification process within the goldsmith shops in Paris. Some artists working in Paris may have returned to their homeland in the north. Some may have been called to Aachen to join or advise the craftsmen there doing work for the treasury. In a recent article Erich Steingräber localized the enameled base for the reliquary cross at Pamplona and the Poldi-Pezzoli tabernacle in northern France in the early fourteenth century.⁴ In an earlier article touching on the larger group, "northern France" meant for him Paris.⁵ It is well to keep in mind that a strong enameling tradition seems to have flourished contemporaneously in the Rhineland beyond as evidenced by the Eucharistic Casket from Lichtenthal in the Morgan Library and by a medallion with the Virgin and Child with angels in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in West Berlin.⁶

It is unwise to attempt to definitely localize the Blumka Diptych before the problems of the group to which it belongs can be either settled or clarified. The speculations given above can only provide a suggestion for what tomorrow may be discredited. However, the quality of the Diptych, evident in the restraint and care in its workmanship, and the proximity in style and invention to the Parisian miniaturist, Honoré, would give preference to a tentative attribution of Paris and the early fourteenth century.

EX COLLECTION: John Edward Taylor, London (Christie's sale, July 1-4, 9, 1912, lot 235).

⁴ Erich Steingräber, "Beiträge zur gotischen Goldschmiedekunst Frankreichs," *Pantheon*, xx (1962), 162 ff., figs. 5-10.

⁵ Steingräber, in *Connoisseur*, clx (August 1957), p. 18.

⁶ See Katia Guth-Dreyfuss, "Transluzides Email in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts am Ober-, Mittel-, und Niederrhein," *Basler Studien zur Kunstgeschichte*, ix (1954), which has been unavailable to the present cataloguer.

V-13 page 194

Central Plaque from a Triptych: Virgin and Child with Angels. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: Francis Douce (d. 1834). Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick (no. 39). John Malcolm of Poltalloch (no. 20). Durlacher Brothers.

EXHIBITION: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1879: Catalogue of Bronzes and Ivories, no. 275.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, "Catalogue of the Doucean Museum," *Gentleman's Magazine* (June 1836), no. 39. William M. Milliken, "An Ivory of the Early XIV Century," *CMA Bulletin*, x (December 1923), 174-178, repr. on cover and p. 174. Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques françaises* (Paris, 1924), ii, 74, no. 169 bis.

V-14 page 196

Psalter, in Latin, for Dominican use. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.

EX COLLECTION: Blanche of Brittany(?).

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1949: Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, no. 67, pl. XXXII. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1953: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts, no. 39. Toledo Museum of Art, 1953: Medieval and Renaissance Music Manuscripts, p. 17, no. 45, pl. 10. The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1964: Twelve Masterpieces of Medieval and Renaissance Book Illumination, p. 50, no. 6, repr. [Catalogue: *CMA Bulletin*, li (March 1964).]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935), i, 774, no. 105. David Diringer, *The Illuminated Book* (London, 1958), p. 385, pl. VII-8. Carl Nordenfalk, "Maître Honoré and Maître Pucelle," *Apollo*, lxxix (May 1964), 363 (wrongly identified with the lost Firmin-Didot manuscript).

V-15 page 198

Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, in Latin, for Dominican use. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection.

"the Gothic Entombment by the Italo-Byzantine Lamentation with mourners wringing their hands or covering their faces in unutterable grief and the Virgin Mary throwing herself over the body of Christ in a final embrace."⁷ Emile Mâle was the first to suggest that Pucelle's Lamentation resembled the panel with the same subject in Duccio's Maesta. Similarly, Mâle compared (as have others since) Pucelle's Crucifixion with Duccio's. However, Pucelle makes the iconographical, expressive, and compositional borrowings entirely his own. His tiny scenes are more tightly composed, riddled with emotional and dramatic gestures, and often more ruggedly earthy in the depictions of Christ's tormentors. He also gives evidence as perhaps the first northern painter-miniaturist to utilize the iconographies in Italian art which result from the influence of the mystical writings of the pseudo-Bonaventura. The king kissing the Christ Child's foot in the Adoration in the Belleville Breviary miniature is such a motif. This also was probably the result of inspiration from Duccio.

The persistent references in the body of manuscripts from Pucelle's hand and his workshop to Sienese and Florentine inventions has led to speculation as to the sources available to the master and whether he actually traveled to Italy. He must have had access to Italian works brought to Paris. Emile Mâle described a manuscript with a French text with Sienese miniatures (Bibliothèque Nationale MS. fr. 9561) which belonged to Jeanne d'Evreux. Furthermore, many Italian artists came to Paris from the time of Philippe le Bel after working at Avignon for the popes there. However, Mrs. Morand in her monograph on Pucelle has made a very convincing case for the artist's trip to Florence, Siena, and possibly also Rome, not only because of the previously mentioned spatial treatment and iconographies but also because of certain foreshortenings and specific architectural details, including an actual representation of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence.

Knowing only the artist's early masterpiece, the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, we can be easily ingratiated and completely won by

⁷ Quoted from Panofsky, p. 30; see also Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France* (Paris, 1922), p. 8, figs. 5, 6.

Pucelle's peculiar stylistic homogeneity which is marked by an inexhaustible invention, spontaneity of execution, and complete reworking and assimilation of some of the foremost developments in painting both in the north and in Italy.

EX COLLECTIONS: Charles V, King of France. John, Duke of Berry. Baron Louis Jules du Chatelet. Baron Edmond de Rothschild. Baron Adolphe de Rothschild. Baron Maurice de Rothschild, Château Pregny, Geneva.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Constant Leber, *Collections des meilleurs dissertations, notices et traités particuliers relatifs à l'histoire de France*, xix (Paris, 1838), p. 165. Léopold Delisle, "Les Livres d'Heures de duc de Berry," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, période 2, xxix (1884), 108, no. xxxii. Jules M. J. Guiffrey, *Inventaires de duc de Berry* (Paris, 1894–1896), I, 223, no. A850; II, p. 31, no. 171, p. 275, no. 1078. Léopold Delisle, *Les Heures dites de Jean Pucelle, manuscrit de M. le Baron Maurice de Rothschild* (Paris, 1910). Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen-âge en France* (Paris, 1922), pp. 6–10, figs. 3, 5, 7. Rudolf Blum, "Jean Pucelle et la miniature parisienne du XIV^e siècle," *Scriptorium*, III, (1949), 211–217. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (2 vols; Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 29–32, 34, 43–44; notes 27¹, 29³, 30¹, 31¹, 32², 34⁵, 44¹, 47³, 62⁷, 132⁴; pl. 3, figs. 5, 7. Louise Lefrançois-Pillon, *L'art du XIV^e siècle en France* (Paris, 1954), pp. 128, 131. *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s. xvi (June 1958), 269–292 (includes: "Frog in the Middle" by Richard H. Randall, Jr., "Bagpipes for the Lord" by Emanuel Winternitz, "Medieval Armor in a Prayer Book" by Stephen V. Grancsay). Jean Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures* (New York, 1959), p. 52, pl. liv. Kathleen Morand, *Jean Pucelle* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 2–3, 9, 13–16, 18, 20–23, 29, 31, cat. no. 6, pls. viii, ix, xa and c, xi. Francis Salet, review of *Jean Pucelle* by Kathleen Morand, *Bulletin monumental*, cxxi (1963), 119–120. Carl Nordenfalk, "Maître Honoré and Maître Pucelle," *Apollo*, lxxix (May 1964), pp. 358, 359, 361, 362, 364. Lilian M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966), pp. 19, 20, 30, figs. 120, 250, 254, 277, 279, 329, 464, 510, 511, 516, 661, 693, 723.

V-16 page 202

Pyxis: Boîte à hosties de Cîteaux. Dijon (Côte-d'Or), Musée des Beaux-Arts.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Trocadero, 1889: Exposition rétrospective de l'art français, no. 128. Paris, Petit Palais, 1900: Exposition rétrospective, no. 102, p. 17. London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1932: Exhibition of French Art, 1200–1900, no. 1067. Paris, Palais National des Arts, 1937: Chefs d'œuvre de l'art français, no. 1258. Paris, Exposition internationale de 1937: Chefs d'œuvre de l'art français, no. 99.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Catalogue du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon (Dijon, 1883), no. 1462. Emile Molinier, *Les ivoires* (Paris, 1896), p. 194, repr. p. 193. Henri Chabeuf, "Deux ivoires du Musée de Dijon," *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, année 41 (1898), pp. 226–228, repr.

p. 227. A Bouillet, *L'Art religieux à l'exposition rétrospective du Petit Palais* (Paris, 1901), p. 10, repr. opposite. Louis Gonse, *Les chefs-d'œuvre des musées de France, sculptures, dessins, objets d'art* (Paris, 1904), p. 153. Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), I, 138; II, no. 231; III, pl. LX. Tardy, *Les ivoires, évolution décorative du 1^{er} siècle à nos jours* (Paris, 1966), p. 38 repr. Pierre Quarré, *Le musée de Dijon: peintures, sculptures, objets d'art* (Dijon, 1966), repr.

V-17 page 204

Crosier Head with Virgin and Child with Angels and the Crucifixion. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.

EX COLLECTIONS: John Edward Taylor, London (Christie's sale, July 1, 1912, no. 82). Seligmann, New York. Henry Walters, Baltimore (1913).

EXHIBITION: Paris, 1900: Exposition universelle rétrospective de l'art français, no. 163.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), II, no. 757.

V-18 page 206

Mirror Back: Lady and Gentleman Playing Chess. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: G. Eumorfopoulos. Richard N. Zinser.

EXHIBITIONS: London, The Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1923: Catalogue of an Exhibition of Carvings in Ivory, no. 144. London, The Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1936: Gothic Art in Europe, no. 109, pl. xxv.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. H. Longhurst, "The Eumorfopoulos Collection, Western Objects, II," *Apollo*, III (May 1926), 262–263, repr. 262. G. C. Williamson, *The Book of Ivory* (London, 1938), p. 163. Thomas L. Cheney, "A French Ivory Mirror-Back of the Fourteenth Century," *CMA Bulletin*, xxviii (October 1941), 124–125.

V-19 page 206

Mirror Back: Siege of the Castle of Love. Seattle Art Museum.

EX COLLECTIONS: Baroness Lambert, Brussels. Baron Gustave de Rothschild, Paris.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sherman E. Lee, "Two Medieval Ivories in the Seattle Art Museum," *Art Quarterly*, xii (Spring 1949), 192–193, repr. 188.

V-20 page 208

Casket. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.

EX COLLECTIONS: Rev. John Bowle (1725–1788), Vicar of Idmiston in Wiltshire, England. Gustavus Brander, Christchurch, Hampshire (1787). Francis Douce (1757–1834). Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, Goodrich Court, Herefordshire. Frederick Spitzer, Paris. Oscar Hainauer, Berlin. H. Economos, Paris. Daguerre, Paris. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Ancien Hôtel de Sagan, 1913: Exposition d'objets d'art du moyen-âge et de la renaissance, pl. XLIV. Chapel Hill, North Carolina, William Hayes Ackland Memorial Art Center, 1961: Mediaeval Art, no. 19, p. 21 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: John Carter, *Specimens of the Ancient Sculpture and Painting Now Remaining in this Kingdom* (London, 1780–1787), II, 49–50 and plate. Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, "The Doucean Museum," *Gentleman's Magazine* (April 1836). Wilhelm Bode, et al., *Die Sammlung Oscar Hainauer* (Berlin, 1897), no. 142, p. 83. Raymond Koechlin. "Quelques ivoires gothiques français connus-ériurement au XIX^e siècle," *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, LXI (1911), 396–397, figs. 22–26. Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), II and III, no. 1281, pl. CCXVIII, CCXIX. Robert Sherman Loomis and Laura Hibbard Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art* (London and New York, 1938), pp. 66, 70, 76. A McLaren Young, "A French Medieval Ivory Casket at the Barber Institute of Fine Arts," *Connoisseur*, CXIX (September 1947), 16.

V-21 page 210

Virgin of the Annunciation. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

EX COLLECTIONS: Maillet du Boullay. Félix Doistau (until 1919).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, 1900: Exposition rétrospective de l'art français, no. 4641. Paris, Palais du Louvre (Pavillon de Marsan), 1904: Exposition des primitifs français, no. 299. Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, 1959: L'art en Champagne au moyen-âge, no. 45.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paul Vitry, "La sculpture à l'exposition des primitifs français," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXII, ser. 3 (1904), 157 repr. André Michel, *Histoire de l'Art* II, pt. 2 (1906), 717, fig. 419. Paul Vitry and Gaston Brière, *Documents de sculpture français du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1906), pl. xciv, no. 3. Musée du Louvre, *Catalogue des sculptures*, pt. I (Paris, 1922), no. 151. Jules Roussel, *La sculpture française, époque gothique*, II (Paris, n. d.), pl. 19, no. 5. Marcel Aubert, Michèle Beaulieu, and André Vigneau, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art: Sculptures du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1948), IV, no. 99.

V-22 page 210

Angel of the Annunciation. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: Maillet du Boullay(?). Baron Nathaniel de Rothschild. Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, Vienna.

EXHIBITIONS: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1963: Gothic Art 1360–1440, cat. no. 21 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Raymond Koechlin, "La sculpture du XIV^e et XV^e siècle dans la région de Troyes," *Congrès archéologique de France*, session LXIX (Troyes, 1902), p. 254, n. 1. Marcel Aubert, *Les Accroissements des Musées Nationaux français*, vol. III: *Le Musée du Louvre en 1920* (Paris, 1922), pl. 4. Marcel Aubert and Michèle Beaulieu, *Musée du Louvre, Description raisonnée des sculptures* (Paris, 1950), p. 173. William M. Milliken, "A Fourteenth Century Angel of the Annunciation," *CMA Bulletin*, XLII (June 1955), 118–120, repr. 114.

V-23 page 212

Virgin and Child with a Bird. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

research, it is as important to acknowledge here the existence of identifiable regional styles and groupings of Madonna and Child sculptures (as in Languedoc, Normandy, Lorraine, and Burgundy) as it is necessary to observe the wealth and complexities within groups of sculptures from the court ateliers at Paris and Saint-Denis in the Ile-de-France. This latter area of royal domain must have been especially energetic, sending out artists or their productions, thereby making more widespread its inspirational dominance, and attracting to it (sometimes by royal command) artists from the provinces and beyond, e.g., from the Hainault, Brabant, and other parts of present-day Belgium. These very regions to the north provided sources of new inspiration within the royal ateliers in the Ile-de-France, Jean Pépin de Huy in the first half of the fourteenth century, and André Beauneveu, native of Valenciennes, and Jean de Liège in the second half.³ The impact of such northern artists was eventually felt in other court centers: Beauneveu, a traveling artist *par excellence*, in Bourges, Meung-sur-Vèvre in Berry, and Claus Sluter at Dijon in Burgundy (see cat. nos. VI–21, 22).

It is against this complex background of developments in time and space that the two fourteenth-century Virgins discussed here must be considered (for the other see cat. no. VI–8). The smaller sculpture, the marble Virgin and Child with a Bird, is important beyond its intrinsic value in the fact that it is one of a dozen or more marble Virgins in much the same general style and datable from the middle of the fourteenth century through the end of the third quarter. An example in the church at Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire is so close to the

³ See Marguerite Devigne, *La Sculpture mosane du XII^e au XVI^e siècle* (Paris and Brussels, 1932), pp. 68–77. Françoise Baron, "Un artiste du XIV^e siècle: Jean Pépin de Huy, problèmes d'attribution," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, Année 1960 (Paris, 1961), pp. 89–94. Pierre Pradel, "Les tombeaux de Charles V," *Bulletin monumental*, cix (1951), 273–296.

Cleveland group that it might be considered as the product of the same workshop if not the same hand. A comparison of both these works with a possible prototype in the much larger marble Virgin, about sixty-five inches in height and now in the Church of Magny (Seine-et-Oise), reveals certain general similarities in the disposition of the draperies, especially in the apron-like arrangement of the mantle pulled across the front, the long folds below, the disposition of the feet, and the way the half-nude Christ Child is held.⁴ The Magny Virgin is a much more imposing work, and several scholars have suggested that possibly it was a second donation of Jeanne d'Evreux to Saint-Denis because of its resemblance to the smaller silver-gilt Virgin now in the Louvre. This might imply that the silver-gilt Virgin may have had great influence via this large marble replica, which in turn inspired the other examples, especially those in marble which probably were mostly carved in the Ile-de-France.⁵ Other marbles which appear later in Brabant and Hainault suggest that the

⁴ For the Virgin at Magny (Seine-et-Oise), see Marcel Aubert, *La sculpture française au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1946), p. 333.

⁵ In addition to the Cleveland and Saint-Benoit examples, the others which may be considered include: Virgin by Evrard d'Orléans, 1341, at Langres (Haute Marne) Cathedral; Virgin at Saint-Denis; Virgin at Couilly (Seine-et-Marne); Virgin in the Metropolitan Museum, New York; Virgin at Saint-Germain-des-Pres, Paris; Virgin formerly in the Garnier Collection, Paris; Virgin in the Church of Neuille Pont-Pierre; Virgin in the Church of Saint Laud, Angers.

influence of a Jeanne d'Evreux type of the Virgin had spread northward beyond the royal domain where eventually the image achieved a more intimate and animated embodiment.⁶

EX COLLECTIONS: Marcel Cottreau. John L. Severance, Cleveland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Catalogue of the John L. Severance Collection, Bequest of John L. Severance* (Cleveland, 1942), no. 17.

⁶ The northern examples include: Virgin from Arbre, Musée Royaux d'art et d'histoire, Brussels; Virgin in the Museum at Diest; Virgin at Antwerp Cathedral; Virgin in the museum at Lille.

V-24 page 214

Passion Diptych. The Toledo Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: Julius Campe, Hamburg. Emile Baboin, Lyon (catalogue by Raymond Koechlin, no. 19). Frederic Spitzer (sale, Paris, 1893, lot 96, pl. IV).

EXHIBITION: Paris, 1900: Exposition rétrospective de l'art français à 1800, cat. no. 125.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), I, 286, 291; II, no. 792. *La Collection Spitzer; Antiquité-Moyen-âge-Renaissance* (Paris, 1890), I, 50.

CHAPTER VI International Style

VI-1 page 218

Mouton d'or, Jean le Bon. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EXHIBITION: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1964: Year in Review, no. 18, repr. (Catalogue, *CMA Bulletin*, LI [December 1964]).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Hoffman, *Le monnaies royales de France* (Paris, 1878), no. 3. A. Blanchet and A. Dieudonné, *Manuel de numismatique français* (Paris, 1916), II, 255, 258-259.

VI-2 page 218

Leopard d'or, Edward III. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EXHIBITIONS: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1963: Gothic Art 1360-1440, no. 38, repr. The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1964: Year in Review, no. 17 (Catalogue, *CMA Bulletin*, LI [December 1964]).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Robert Friedberg, *Gold Coins of the World, 600-1958* (New York, 1958), no. 7. Herbert Allen Seaby and Peter John Seaby, *Standard Catalogue of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1960), no. 2903.

VI-3 page 220

Missal, in Latin, for Paris use. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

celle's delicate elegance and injects new life in place of the wanng Pucelle tradition of his own day.

The first gathering of four folios of especially soft vellum at the beginning of the manuscript was probably added upon its completion for this Missal in the early fifteenth century. Additional offices are found here, including a special mass *pro seditione scismatis compo*siti (folio 2 recto); therefore, these pages must have been completed during the time of the Schism of the Papacy and before 1417. The first leaf (folio 1 recto) is adorned by two exquisite miniatures which are datable also about this time or as early as 1410.

Solomon Rheinach's attribution to Malouel is no longer held. However, the large tondo commissioned for the Chartreuse de Champmol near Dijon (now in the Louvre) showing the Trinity with Mourning Angels, Virgin, and Saint John may very possibly be the inspiration for the Trinity miniature. More recent opinion has assigned the miniatures to the Boucicaut Master, after his Book of Hours in the Musée Jacquemart-André (cat. no. VI-29). But Dorothy Miner has suggested a comparison with the youthful works of the Bedford Master, who is so named after his mature work as the head

of a large atelier, in a Breviary (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 17294) and a Book of Hours (London, B. M. Add. MS. 18850) completed between 1424 and 1435 for John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, and his wife. One such comparison may be made with an exquisite miniature by the youthful Bedford Master in a Book of Hours lent from the Walters Art Gallery (see cat. no. vi-27, folio 37). Similarities of drawing, coloring, and modeling are such that a tentative proposal may be made for the Bedford Master as author of the two miniatures on the first folio of the Gotha Missal. In any case, each of these miniatures is a masterpiece of the International Style in its own right. The Trinity with mourning angels, Virgin, and Saint John is marked by an indefinable pathos combined with jewel-like colors, intense blue sky, and crimson seraphim. The figures are white, delicately modeled in grisaille, with tints of pink in the flesh and bright red for the blood of Christ. Despite the presence of a multitude of angels in the background, one has the feeling of an intimate scene of very private sorrow and tragedy. The mood changes abruptly in the adjacent miniature, although the actual technique is very similar. Broad areas of a few intense colors are broken up into smaller units—the red and gold of Christ's banner, the green of the tree, and the small tessellated blues, reds, and gold of the background. Because of this, the chief emphasis is on dramatic movement, the stride and sweep of the Risen Christ and the recoiling of the onlooking soldiers.

EX COLLECTIONS: Library of the Dukes of Gotha, Germany. Earl of Denbigh, England (sale: Sotheby and Co., London, April 3, 1950, lot 1, repr.). Apsley Cherry-Garrard and Mrs. Gordon Mathias, England (sale: Sotheby and Co., London, June 5, 1961, lot 177, repr., fol. 11r in color). H. P. Kraus, New York.

EXHIBITIONS: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1963: Gothic Art 1360-1440, cat. no. 11, repr. in color.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rudolph Ehwald, "Über eine französische Missalhandschrift des XIV. Jahrhunderts," *Beiträge zum Bibliotheks- und Buchwesen (Paul Schwenke gewidmet)* (1913), pp. 67-75, pl. 6. Solomon Reinach, in *Revue archéologique*, IV, ser. VII (1906), 351-352. Catalogue 100 (New York: H. P. Kraus, 1962), pp. 32-39 (based on the findings of Harry Bober), pls. XXIV-XXVII and four color illustrations on pp. 33, 36-38. William D. Wixom, "A Missal for a King," *CMA Bulletin*, I (September 1963), 158-173, 186-187, repr. in color. Harry Bober, "Medieval Art at Cleveland," *Apollo*, LXXVIII (December 1963), repr. in color on cover, mentioned on p. 456. John Beckwith, "A Rhenish Ivory *Noli Me Tangere*," *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin*, II (July 1966), 113, 114, n.5.

VI-4 page 222

Miter. Paris, Musée National des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny.

EXHIBITION: Paris, Palais du Louvre et Bibliothèque Nationale, 1904: Exposition des primitifs français, no. 2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Henri Bouchot, "Le 'Paremont de Narbonne' au Louvre (1374), le peintre Jean d'Orléans à Paris," *Gazette des*

Beaux-Arts, 3^e Per., XXXI (1904), 7. Paul Vitry, "L'Exposition des Primitifs français," *Les Arts*, III (April 1904), 4 repr., mentioned p. 15. Joseph Braun, *Die liturgische Gervandung im Occident und Orient* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907), p. 479, fig. 236. Gaston Migeon, *Les arts du tissu (Manuels d'histoire de l'art)* (Paris, 1929), p. 175. P. A. Lesmoisne, *Gothic Painting in France, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, trans., Ronald Boothroyd (New York, n. d.), p. 38, pl. 16. Charles Jacques Sterling, *La Peinture française, les primitifs* (Paris, 1938), fig. 19, p. 29. William D. Wixom, "The Hours of Charles the Noble," *CMA Bulletin*, LII (March 1965), 79, fig. 46.

VI-5 page 224

Missal, in Latin, for Rome use. Cambrai (Nord), Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 150.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1955: *Les manuscrits à peintures en France du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle*, no. 141.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Achille Durieux, "Les miniatures des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Cambrai," *Mémoires de la Société d'émulation de Cambrai* (June 27, 1860), part I, pp. 309-310. Abbé V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits* (Paris, 1924), II, 318, no. 491. Dominguez-Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas* (1933), I, no. 36. Jean Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures* (New York, 1959), p. 70, fig. 77.

VI-6 page 226

Hours. The New York Public Library.

nunciate Virgin, in a deep blue mantle lined with brilliant orange, confronts and contrasts with the angel, clad in pale lavender tunic, brilliant orange mantle, and pale green wings. The whole scene is set against a russet-red background with a rinceau of gold. The facing miniature of the same format continues the brilliant blue mantle of the Virgin, changing the color of the lining to the same pale green of the angel's wings on the facing page. The Christ Child is the focal point because his tunic is the only area colored with the brilliant orange. The kneeling figure at the left has a gown of pale lavender purple. Viewed as a vivid and exciting color ensemble as well as from the significance of their subjects, these two miniatures are a fitting frontispiece to the text of the Officium which follows.

Another striking double-page frontispiece depicts an unusual variation of the Last Supper, in which a mandrake, familiar from centuries of medieval herbals, is held tightly in the center of the table by two of the apostles. The facing miniature depicts the Kiss of Judas or the Betrayal of Christ in the Garden. Here we see a cluster of modish soldiers in the latest pinch-waisted armor with chain mail collars and skirts and handsomely shaped bascinets (one with a *chapel-de-fer*). In both of these miniatures, as in all of the others,

color plays a major role in composition and with expressive purpose. The color emphasis is generally on lavenders, blue, pale to olive greens, brilliant orange, set off frequently by burnished gold. The stippling of the latter adds to the flickering richness of the whole.

The style of the miniatures and historiated initials is a very distinctive one, not easily related to the more familiar manuscript productions in France. The flesh tones recall Sienese painting with the green-tan underground coming through the superimposed whites and pinks. The very dramatic gestures, the intensity of the color contrasts verging on stridency, and a peculiar vivacity of angular movement which pervades many of the miniature scenes all set this work apart from the mainstream of French illumination. Certain French features are felt, as in the delicate, spiky ivy borders as well as the general format. Even northern French marginal figures and other creatures appear at the end of a few of the stems. However Italianate some features of the miniatures may be, the manuscript cannot be assigned in that direction.

According to Dorothy Miner, this manuscript is one of a rare small group noticed by Otto Pächt and the late Jean Porcher which can be given to Avignon.¹ One of these is a Book of Hours in the Walters Art Gallery (W.237); others are in the libraries of Vienna, Madrid, Seville, Cambrai (cat. no vi-5), Paris, and one in the Cathedral of Narbonne. Miss Miner tells us that the Missal in Madrid (MS. E e 27), which in her opinion is especially close to the Spencer manuscript, is in fact a documented work which bears "a contemporary inscription in Catalan recording that it was made in Avignon in 1409 at the order of Bertram de Casals, as a gift to the Confraternity of La Sainte-Croix in Avignon." Compositions and certain details relate the Madrid and Seville manuscripts to another work, a Missal, in Paris (Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 848) which seems to have been done in Avignon for Robert of Geneva, the antipope Clement VII (d. 1394). While Miss Miner feels that this latter manuscript is a little removed from the group, she states that Porcher had suggested that they were all made in Avignon, possibly by Spanish or Catalan artists "who worked especially on commissions of foreigners."

The localization of the Spencer Officium at Avignon can be underscored by comparison with several other manuscripts published in 1907 by H. Labande.² The parallels are not in the figure painting style, as the present manuscript is greatly superior in quality. Instead, we may observe a community of decorative preferences found in the Labande group and the Spencer manuscript which include many details of the border decorations, the stems of the initials, and the gold rinceaux on color in the backgrounds of the miniatures. This similarity suggests the possibility that the Spencer Hours is the product of a collaboration in which Parisian and north French decorators have made the settings for a southern artist's figural compositions. Whether this southern artist is indeed Catalan or Languedocian is perhaps a still-unsettled question, a problem which also plagues a number of other works including at least one imposing

¹ *The International Style* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1962), p. 67.

² H. Labande, "Les miniaturists Avignois," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3 Per., XXXVII (1907), 236-240, 289-295; compare illustrations on pp. 237, 239, 289, 294.

panel painting in the International Style, the enigmatic Saint Bishop with a Donor from Toulouse in the Cleveland Museum.³

EX COLLECTION: Harry Levinson, New York (until 1945).

EXHIBITION: Oberlin, Allen Memorial Art Museum, 1960: Netherlandish Book Illumination, no. 1.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *The International Style* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1962), p. 67. W. H. Bond and C. U. Faye, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962), p. 333, no. 49.

³ Robert Mesuret, "Les primitifs du Languedoc," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6 Per., LXV (1965), 2, 11 (no. 31, fig. 12), and 30. CMA acc. no. 27.197. Coincidentally, there are several points in common between this larger work and the Spencer manuscript in the use of lavenders, gold, the Sienese-like flesh painting, the treatment of space, and the character of the kneeling owner or donor.

VI-7 page 228

Saint Christopher and the Christ Child. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: Charles J. Wertheimer, London. J. Pierpont Morgan, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Marc Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkseichen* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1911), p. 272, no. 4472. Joseph Breck and Meyric R. Rogers, *A Handbook of the Pierpont Morgan Wing, The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (2nd ed.; New York, 1929), p. 120, fig. 68. Narbonne, Palais des Archevêques, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Narbonne: *Trésors d'orfèvrerie des églises du Roussillon et du Languedoc Méditerranéen* (1954), cat. no. 29 (replica at Church at Lasbordes [Aude]).

VI-8 page 230

Madonna and Child. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EXHIBITIONS: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1962: Year in Review, no. 32, repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: William D. Wixom, "A Fourteenth Century Madonna and Child," *CMA Bulletin*, L (January 1963), 14-22, repr.

VI-9 page 232

Window Panels with Prophets Isaiah, David, Daniel and Micah. Bourges (Cher), Dépôt de la Cathédrale de Saint Etienne.

EXHIBITIONS: Rotterdam, 1952: Kleurenpracht uit Franse Kathedralen, no. 14. Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1953: Vitraux de France du XI^e au XVI^e siècle, no. 36, pl. 24. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1962: Europäische Kunst um 1400, nos. 215-218.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Verrier, *La Cathédrale de Bourges et ses vitraux* (Paris, 1843), pp. 16, 17. A. des Méloizes, *Les Vitraux de la*

cathédrale de Bourges postérieurs aux XIII^e siècle (Lille, 1891–1894), pp. 21ff. A. Champeaux and P. Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'art exécuté pour Jean de France duc de Berry* (Paris, 1894), pp. 114–118. Emile Mâle, "Le Vitrail français au XV^e et au XVI^e siècle," *Histoire de l'art*, ed. André Michel (Paris, 1911), IV, 2^e partie, pp. 775ff. Marcel Aubert, *Le Vitrail en France* (Paris, 1946), pp. 53, 54. James J. Rorimer and Margaret B. Freeman, "The Nine Heroes Tapestries at the Cloisters," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, VII (May 1949), repr. 256, 257, discussed 255, 258. A. Boinet, *La Cathédrale de Bourges* (Paris, 1952), p. 87. Jean Lafond, "De 1380 à 1500, L'Apparition du style nouveau," *Le Vitrail français* (Paris, 1958), p. 186, fig. 141.

VI-10 page 234

Two Kneeling Carthusian Monks. The Cleveland Museum of Art. In records in one of his engravings a sculptural ensemble in the court façade of the Chartreuse in which are shown five Carthusian monks kneeling in adoration before Saint Louis, who presents them to the Virgin. (Saint Louis had given the buildings, formerly the Château of Vauvert, to the Carthusians in the mid-thirteenth century.) A second relief, also reproduced by Millin, was in the cloister. It contained fourteen kneeling monks, hands clasped in prayer to the Virgin. This relief commemorated the addition of fourteen cells to the Chartreuse.

The third possibility is that the two Monks may have been connected with a tomb. In both size and posture, they suggest a pair set on brackets at the foot of the tomb of Pierre de Navarre (d. 1412) and his wife Catherine d'Aençon which was in the Sanctuary of the Church of the Chartreuse de Paris. This is recorded in the illustration of Roger de Gaignières (1642–1715). However, the kneeling monks depicted by Gaignières hold opened books in their hands and do not therefore agree in this respect with the more prayerful attitude of the preserved sculptures.

EX COLLECTIONS: Octave Homberg, Paris. Jacques Seligmann and Co., New York.

EXHIBITION: Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1962: *The International Style*, no. 92 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gaston Migeon, "Collection Octave Homberg," *Les Arts*, III (December 1940), 36. Colin Eisler, "Le gothique international," *Art de France* (1964), p. 289 repr. William D. Wixom, *CMA Bulletin*, LIII (November 1966).

VI-11 page 236

Death, Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale et Palais du Louvre (Pavillon de Marsan), 1904: Exposition des Primitifs français, no. 18. London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1927: Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art—A Memorial Volume, pp. 184–185, no. 513. London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1933: Commemorative

Catalogue of the Exhibition of French Art, 1200–1900, p. 118, no. 530, pl. CXLVI. Brussels, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1936–1937: *Kunst en Kennis de gawd van gent*, no. 1, pl. 1. Paris, Palais National des Arts, 1937: *Chefs d'œuvre de l'art français*, no. 427. Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Louvre, 1957: *Enlumière et Dessins français du XIII^e au XV^e siècles*, no. 17. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1962: *Europäische Kunst um 1400*, cat. no. 250, pl. 124.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paul Durrieu, "Dessin du Musée du Louvre attribué à André Beauneveu," *Fondation Piot Monuments et Mémoires*, I (1894), 179–202, pls. xxv–xxvi. R. de Lasteyrie, "Les Miniatures d'André Beauneveu et de Jacquemart de Hesdin," *Fondation Piot Monuments et Mémoires*, III (1896), 71–80. Jean Guiffrey and Pierre Marcel, *Inventaire général des dessins du Musée du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles* (Paris, 1907), I, no. 215, bis. Jean Guiffrey and Pierre Marcel, *Inventaire général des dessins du Musée du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles* (Paris, 1933), I, no. 215 bis. Pierre Lavallée, *Le Dessin français du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1930), p. 60, no. 14, pl. VII. Paul André Lemoisne, *La Peinture française de l'époque gothique* (Paris, 1931), p. 53, pl. 30. Paul André Lemoisne, *Gothic Painting in France*, trans. Ronald Boothroyd (New York, n. d.), p. 61, pl. 30. Charles Jacques [Sterling], *Les Peintures du Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1941), Repertoire A no. 7, pl. VIII. Pierre Lavallée, *Le Dessin français* (Paris, 1948), pp. 12–13. Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting* (London, 1949), no. 11, pl. 8. Ruth M. Tovell, *Flemish Artists of the Valois Courts* (Toronto, 1950), pp. 32, 69, pl. 19. Louise Lefrançois-Pillion and Jean Lafond, *L'Art du XIV^e siècle en France* (Paris, 1954), pp. 113–114.

VI-12 page 238

Calvary with a Carthusian Monk. The Cleveland Museum of Art. very closely to the Chalandon and Cleveland panels. The measurements as well as the subject are exactly appropriate for the small altars in the monks' cells. Although the oak panels were delivered in late 1388, the canvas in the spring of 1389, and the gold leaf was bought during the summer of the same year, Sterling points out that the actual painting could not have been begun before autumn of 1390, for in August of that year Jean de Beaumetz bought the "chalk" to prepare the plaster ground for the panels. This lapse of time may be explained, as suggested by Sterling, by the fact that the artist was busily engaged by the Duke at Argilly, Germoles and the Duke's private chapel at Champmol. Girard de la Chapelle played an important role in the preparation of the panels as documented by the time for which he was paid, and Jehan Gentil was primarily occupied with grinding the colors and is recorded elsewhere as having performed the same tasks as Girard for less wages. As Jean de Beaumetz was absent from December 1 of 1390 to October 31 of 1391, Sterling assumes that Girard must have carried out some of the painting, assisted in part by Jehan Gentil. Sterling observes from the records that the cell paintings must have been finished in 1395. Jean de Beaumetz was occupied upon his return with decorating the main chapel and the Duke's private chapel at Champmol, where still another assistant collaborator, Guillaume le Maire de Francheville, is mentioned.

While the possible participation in the painting of the cell panels by Girard de la Chapelle and Jehan Gentil may explain some of the differences in the two extant works, it seems likely that the master himself made the preliminary designs and also largely completed the last stages of painting. In essence, both the Chalandon and the Cleveland panels might be considered the work of the master and his workshop, ordered in 1388, begun in 1390, laid aside, and then completed by 1395.

EX COLLECTIONS: La Chartreuse de Champmol, near Dijon. Private collection in the vicinity of Dijon. Wildenstein & Co., New York.

EXHIBITION: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1966: Golden Anniversary Acquisitions, no. 55, repr. (Catalogue, *CMA Bulletin*, LIII [September 1966].)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Charles Sterling, "Oeuvres retrouvées de Jean de Beaumetz, Peintre de Philippe le Hardi," *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts Bulletin*, IV (1955), 57–81 *passim*, repr. 59. *La Chartreuse de Champmol, Foyer d'art au temps des Ducs Valois* (Dijon, 1960), pl. xx. Millard Meiss and Colin Eisler, "A New French Primitive," *Burlington Magazine*, CII (1960), 234, 236. Michel Laclotte, "Peinture en Bourgogne au XV^e siècle," *Art de France*, I (1961), 289, n. 4. Albert Châtelet, *French Painting: from Fouquet to Poussin* (Geneva, 1963), p. 15. R. Guilly, *Kindlers Malerei Lexikon* (Zurich, 1964), I, 257, repr. 256. William D. Wixom, "The Hours of Charles the Noble," *CMA Bulletin*, LII (March 1965), 83, n. 58. Henry S. Francis, "Jean de Beaumetz: The Calvary with a Carthusian Monk," *CMA Bulletin*, LIII (November 1966).

VI-13 page 240

Calvary Group with the Fainting Virgin. Louviers (Eure), église de Notre-Dame.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Musée de Trocadero et Sainte-Chapelle, 1934: *La Passion du Christ dans l'art français*, no. 52, repr. Paris, Petit Palais, 1950: *La Vierge dans l'art français*, no. 172, pl. 29.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abbé R. Delamare, *Louviers-le-Franc., ses églises, son musée* (n.d.).

VI-14 page 242

The Annunciation. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: Duke of Anhalt, Dessau (1863–1925). C. A. de Burlet, Berlin. Arthur Sachs, New York and Santa Barbara, California (1926–1954).

EXHIBITIONS: Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum, 1927. New York, J. Seligman and Company, 1927: Religious Art, no. 1. New York, Kleinberger Galleries, 1927: French Primitives, no. 4. Detroit Institute of Art, 1928: French Gothic Art, no. 1. London, Royal Academy, 1932, no. 1 (Commemorative Catalogue, no. 6). Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1946: Collection Arthur Sachs. Paris,

Petit Palais, 1950: *La Vierge dans l'art français*, no. 6. Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute, 1951: *French Painting 1100–1900*, no. 26 repr. The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1963: *Gothic Art 1360–1440*, no. 19 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Parthey, *Deutscher Bildersaal* (Berlin, 1863), I, 216 (as Duccio di Buoninsegna). Friedrich Winkler, "Ein unbekannter französisches Tafelbild," *Belveder*, XI (1927), pp. 6ff. W. R. Valentiner, *Unknown Masterpieces* (New York, 1930), I, 70. P. A. Lemoisne, *Gothic Painting in France* (Florence, 1931), pl. 26. L.-H. Labande, *Les primitifs français: peintres et peintres-verriers de la Provence Occidentale* (Marseilles, 1932), I, 220. David M. Robb, "The Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Art Bulletin*, XVIII (1936), 490. Germain Bazin, *La peinture française des origines au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1937), p. 7. Jacques Dupont, *Les primitifs français, 1350–1500* (Paris, 1937), p. 23. Charles Jacques Sterling, *La peinture française: les primitifs* (Paris, 1938), p. 36, note 20. Charles Jacques Sterling, *La peinture française: les peintures du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1941), Rép. A, p. 3, no. 6, pl. x. Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting, 1400–1500* (London, 1949), pp. 24, 193 (no. 16). Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), I, 82. Jacques Dupont, *The Great Centuries of Painting: Gothic Painting* (Geneva, 1954), p. 126. Henry S. Francis, "A Fourteenth Century Annunciation," *CMA Bulletin*, XLII (December 1955), 215ff. (reprinted in *Art Quarterly*, XIX [1956], 85ff.). Friedrich Winkler, review of E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, *Kunstchronik*, VIII (1955), 12. Otto Pächt, "Panofsky's 'Early Netherlandish Painting'—I," *Burlington Magazine*, XC VIII (1956), 113. *The International Style: The Arts in Europe around 1400* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1962), p. 24. Harry Bober, "Medieval Art in Cleveland," *Apollo*, LXXVIII (1963), 456. A. Châtelet and J. Thuillier, *French Painting from Fouquet to Poussin* (Geneva, 1963), p. 15. Colin Eisler, "Le Gothique International," *Art de France*, IV (1964), 290. R. Guilly in *Kindler's Malerei-Lexikon* (Zürich, 1964), I, 201. Mojmir Frinta, "An Investigation of the Punched Decoration of Medieval Italian and Non-Italian Panel Paintings," *Art Bulletin*, XLVII (1965), 264.

VI-15 page 244

Virgin and Child Enthroned. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.

VI-16 page 246

Meditation on the Passion. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.

EX COLLECTIONS: Didier-Petit(?). Baron de Theis (1765–1842), (sale, Paris May 6–13, 1874). Henry Walters (after 1922).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Exposition 1867. London, South Kensington Museum, 1876: (*Westwood, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum*, London, 1876, p. 402). Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1962: *The International Style*, no. 117.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Raymond Koechlin, "Quelques ateliers d'ivoires français, I," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xxxv (1906), 61ff. Raymond Koechlin, "Les retables français en ivoires du commencement du XIV^e siècle," *Fondation E. Piot, Monuments et Mémoires*, xiii (1906), 67ff. Raymond Koechlin, *Ivoires* (Paris, 1924), I, 306, 308 with note 1 (where author recants his views of 1906).

VI-17 page 248

Grille. Rouen (Seine-Maritime), Musée des Antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure.

EX COLLECTION: Gaden, rue du Nord, Rouen (until 1866).

EXHIBITION: Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1963: Exposition du IX^e centenaire de la cathédrale de Rouen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Précis Analytique de l'Académie de Rouen* (Rouen, 1850), pp. 207, 217. Cochet, *Registre Capitulaire* (1868), no. 164. *Catalogue* (Rouen, 1868), p. 129, no. 90. Cochet, *Registre Capitulaire* (1875), no. 114. *Catalogue* (Rouen, 1875), p. 175, no. 100.

VI-18 page 250

Table Fountain. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EXHIBITIONS: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1936: Twentieth Anniversary Exhibition, no. 15. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1962: The International Style, no. 126 repr. (catalogue contains an especially full discussion.). The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1963: Gothic Art 1360–1440, no. 33 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: William M. Milliken, "A Table Fountain of the Fourteenth Century," *CMA Bulletin*, XII (March 1925), 36–39, repr. on cover. William M. Milliken, "Early Enamels in The Cleveland Museum of Art," *CMA Bulletin*, XIII (April 1926), 75 repr. *Connoisseur*, LXXVI (October 1926), 69, 70 repr. E. von Basserman-Jordan, *The Clock of Philip the Good of Burgundy* (Leipzig, 1927), p. 39, figs. 35, 36. Henry S. Francis, "A Gothic Table Fountain and an Engraved Design for One by the Master W," *The Print Collector's Quarterly*, xxvi (April 1939), 224–237. Henry S. Francis, "A Gothic Fountain Design by the Goldsmith-Engraver Monogrammist W," *CMA Bulletin*, xxvi (July 1939), 120, 118 repr. N. M. Penzer, "The Great Wine Coolers—II," *Apollo*, LXVI (September 1957), 40, 41, fig. II. Silvio A. Bedini, "The Role of Automata in the History of Technology," *Technology and Culture*, v (Winter 1964), 33, fig. 7. Colin Eisler, "Le gothique international," *Art de France*, IV (1964), 288–290, repr.

VI-19 page 252

Twelve Medallions. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: G. J. Demotte, New York. Joseph Brummer, New York.

EXHIBITIONS: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1928: French Gothic Art, cat. no. 75, repr. The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1947: Exhibition of Gold. Bruges, Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts, 1960: Le Siècle des Primitifs Flamands, no. 113, repr. Detroit Institute of Arts, 1960: Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization, no. 128, repr. Seattle, 1962: Masterpieces of Art Exhibition, Century 21 Exposition, no. 9, repr. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1962: The International Style, no. 127, repr. The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1963: Gothic Art 1360–1440, no. 35 (Catalogue, *CMA Bulletin*, L [September, 1963], 175, 205).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *La Perle* (September 10, 1928). *Art News* (December 1, 1928), p. 18. William M. Milliken, *CMA Bulletin*, XXXIV (November 1947), repr. 228. William M. Milliken, "The Art of the Goldsmith," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, VI (June 1948), 321, fig. 6. Theodor Müller and Erich Steingräber, "Die französische Goldemailerplastik um 1400," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, V (1954), 76, no. 26, fig. 66 (det.). *CMA Bulletin*, XLV (March 1958), repr. 57.

VI-20 page 254

Kneeling Prophet. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

gether with four seated Evangelists. A small replica made about thirty years later is preserved at Saint Omer. However, the Well of Moses is even more closely allied from an iconographical point of view with the Old Testament prophets—Moses, David, Jeremiah, Joshua, Zachariah, Daniel, and Isaiah—filling the six niche-like settings of a monumental socle for a Crucifixion group above. This program has been related to a contemporary mystery play, the *Trial of Jesus*, in which each of the prophets pronounces his verdict of death in spite of the Virgin's pleading. Parts of the text of this play appear on the scrolls which they hold. Could this poignant drama also be reflected in the gilt prophets? We will probably never know. It is also possible that they supported some other group, such as the Virgin and Child. Such a group, either with the Crucifixion or with the Virgin and Child, might have been intended for devotional use. However, it is well to keep in mind the admixture of the pious and the pleasurable always with us and in this regard one might cite the table fountain once owned by Charles V and now lost. It is described in the inventory as: "... une fontaine de jouvent d'or, où est ung chapiteau à six pilliers sur ung pié, et sont prophètes autour, et a l'environ du pié de ladicte fontaine, garny de balaiz, saphirs, esmeraudes et rubiz d'Alixandre, et au chef dessus est Nostre Dame et deux angeloz; pesant n^m v estellins."²

EX COLLECTION: Herbert Bier, London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: William D. Wixom, *CMA Bulletin*, LIII (November 1966).

² Jules Labarte, *Inventaire du Mobilier de Charles V, roi de France* (Paris, 1879), p. 284, item 2654.

VI-21 page 256

Three Mourners from the Tomb of Philip the Bold. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: M. M. Hocquart and Edouard de Broissia, Dijon, 1825. M. Legay, Nancy, 1876. Baron Arthur de Schickler, Martinvast, Normandy. Clarence Mackay, New York, 1939. Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Cleveland (58.66, 58.67).

EXHIBITIONS: (58.67 only): Cleveland Museum of Art, 1958: In Memoriam Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., cat. no. 161, repr. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1961: Treasures in America, p. 52, repr. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1962: Europäische Kunst um 1400, cat. no. 341. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1962: The International Style, cat. no. 96, repr.

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VI-22 page 258

Virgin and Child. The Detroit Institute of Arts.

EX COLLECTIONS: Durlacher Brothers, London, Edgar B. Whitcomb, Detroit.

EXHIBITIONS: Detroit, Institute of Arts, 1928: French Gothic Art, no. 44 repr. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1962: The International Style, no. 79 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Josephine Walther, "Exhibition of French Gothic

Art," *Bulletin of The Detroit Institute of Arts*, X (December 1928), no. 3, illus. p. 42. Walter Heil, "Kunstwerke der Französischen Gotik Leihaustellung im Museum zu Detroit," *Pantheon*, III (February 1929), no. 2, p. 76, illus. p. 75. Georg Troescher, *Claus Sluter und die burgundische Plastik* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1932), pp. 80, 179, pl. XXII. W. R. Valentiner, unpublished notes in a catalogue of sculpture in The Detroit Institute of Arts. Aenne Liebreich, *Claus Sluter* (Brussels, 1936), p. 165. W. R. Valentiner, "Late Gothic Sculptures in Detroit," *The Art Quarterly*, VI (Autumn 1943), no. 4, pp. 283, 284, 287; illus. p. 279, fig. 2; p. 280, fig. 3. E. P. Richardson, *Catalogue of the Paintings and Sculptures given by Edgar B. Whitcomb and Anna Scripps Whitcomb to The Detroit Institute of Arts* (Detroit, 1954), p. 119, illus. p. 118.

VI-23 page 260

Book of Hours, in Latin. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.

EX COLLECTIONS: Roussin Saint-Nicolas (ca. 1745). L. Gruel Paris. Henry Walters.

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1949: Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, no. 84 repr. Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute, 1951: French Painting, no. 15 repr. Los Angeles County Museum, 1953–1954: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts, no. 52. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1962: The International Style, no. 47 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935), I, 791, no. 214. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), n. 48^a. Millard Meiss, "The Exhibition of French Manuscripts of the XIII–XVI Centuries at the Bibliothèque Nationale," *Art Bulletin*, XXXVIII (1956), 193, n. 23.

VI-24 page 262

Medallion: Coronation of the Virgin. New York, Mr. and Mrs. Germain Seligman.

EX COLLECTION: Luigi Grassi, Florence.

EXHIBITION: Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1962: The International Style, no. 131, repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Colin Eisler, "Le gothique international," *Art de France*, IV (1964), 289.

VI-25 page 264

Hours of Charles the Noble. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

expressive ends. He excels in the visual and piquant embodiment of dramatic narrative. Second, he is one of the earliest painters to exploit the expressive and decorative possibilities of atmospheric per-

spective in the depiction of distant landscape views. Third, he shows the naturalistic bent of a Netherlander in the use of incisive, psychological expression. In this he follows not only the example of certain panel paintings attributed to Bruges, but also the interests of Jean de Bruges, called Jean Bondol, as seen for example, in the Resurrection miniature in the Cleveland Museum's Gotha Missal of 1375 (cat. no. VI-3).

Rosy Schilling and Millard Meiss have discussed the immediate milieu of the Egerton Master: a circle of such painter-illuminators as the so-called Master of 1402, the youthful Bedford Master, and the early Boucicaut Master, working in Paris in the first decade of the fifteenth century. Each of these painters was either a Netherlander or strongly dependent on Netherlandish traditions. A great deal more study is needed to isolate and relate their various productions.

It is tempting to guess at the specific origin of the Egerton Master. His first three miniatures in the Hours of Charles the Noble bear several similarities to the Arras tapestry hangings of Canon Toussaint Prier made in 1402 now in the Cathedral at Tournai; and with two panels probably painted in Bruges about 1400 (Calvary of the Tanners, Saint Sauveur, Bruges, and a triptych in the Chicago Art Institute). This suggests that the Egerton Master may have come from the Artois-Flanders area of the South Netherlands in present-day Belgium. Also, his early work bears a close relationship to that of Jean de Beaumetz (see cat. no. VI-12). Having transplanted himself to Paris, however, the Egerton Master began to assimilate and utilize elegance of line and subtle nuances of color, especially notable features of the Deposition and Entombment miniatures in the Hours of Charles the Noble. In these latter two miniatures the Egerton Master is closest to what we know of Malouel from the Trinity tondo and from the Martyrdom of Saint-Denis, both in the Louvre. In his probable subsequent work, the scale of the Egerton Master's compositions changes scope, gaining in breadth and complexity. His individual landscape backgrounds are developed further, and his figures begin to approach the fully-achieved, grandiose elegance of the Limbourg Brothers' late work. One particularly interesting feature in his more mature work is a debt he may have owed to Zebo in the use of architecture. This could have occurred as a result of his contact with Zebo while working on the Hours of Charles the Noble. Refined, elegant, and sophisticated as his later miniatures may be, we may still prefer the vigor and emotional intensity of his earlier masterpieces, his five miniatures in the Hours of Charles the Noble.

The Hours of Charles the Noble in its entirety, in all its complexity and rich content, is not only an intrinsically handsome object but also an important document in the development of painting in the environs of Paris in the first decade after 1400. A fuller understanding and appreciation of this single manuscript will gain from this context and also from the wider perspective of the developing International Style. But also, in itself, it significantly contributes to the larger view and knowledge. The Hours of Charles the Noble—a microcosm which can tell us something about the workings of the macrocosm—contains between its covers a clear and successful intermingling of Italian, Netherlandish, and Parisian traditions.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1949: Manuscrits et livres précieux retrouvés en Allemagne, no. 2, repr. (catalogue by Jean Porcher). The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1964: Twelve Masterpieces of Medieval and Renaissance Book Illumination, no. 8 repr. (Catalogue, *CMA Bulletin*, LI [March 1964]).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Otto Pächt, "Panofsky's 'Early Netherlandish Painting'—I," *Burlington Magazine*, xcvi (April 1956), 115, n. 24. Millard Meiss, "The Exhibition of French Manuscripts of the XIII-XVI centuries at the Bibliothèque Nationale," *Art Bulletin*, xxxviii (September 1956), 194-195, fig. 7. Jean Porcher, *French Miniatures from Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1960), pp. 58-59, fig. 61. *The International Style* (Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1962), p. 68. Millard Meiss, "French and Italian Variations on an Early Fifteenth-Century Theme: St. Jerome and His Study," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, VI^e Per., LXII (September 1963), 159, 164, fig. 17. *CMA Bulletin*, LII (March 1965): William D. Wixom, "The Hours of Charles the Noble," 50-83, 84-90, and Emanuel Winteritz, "The Hours of Charles the Noble, Musicians and Musical Instruments," 84-90. William D. Wixom, "The Hours of Charles the Noble," *Burlington Magazine*, cviii (July 1966), 370, 373, figs. 47-51.

VI-26 page 266

Christ Carrying the Cross. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

EX COLLECTION: Percy Moore Turner (until 1930).

EXHIBITIONS: San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, 1934: French Painting from the 15th Century to the Present Day, no. 1. Los Angeles Museum, 1934: Paintings from the Louvre, no. 5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1955: Manuscrits à peintures du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle, no. x.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: René Huyghe, in *Bulletin des musées de France* (1930), pp. 99-100. H. Beenken, in *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* (1933-1934), p. 216, n. 1. Charles Sterling, *La peinture française, les primitifs* (Paris, 1938), pp. 48-49, fig. 44. Charles Jacques [Sterling], *Les peintures du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1941), A no. 40, p. 9, pl. XLII. Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting 1400-1500* (London, 1949), no. 33, pl. 9. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), I, 82, no. 1. Millard Meiss, "The Exhibition of French Manuscripts of the XIII-XVI Centuries at the Bibliothèque Nationale," *Art Bulletin*, xxxviii (1956), 192. Carl Nordenfalk, in *Kunstchronik* (1956), p. 185. Otto Pächt, in *Revue des Arts* (1956), pp. 149-160. Jean Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures* (New York, 1959), p. 60. Charles Sterling and Hélène Adhémar, *Peintures, école française XIV^e, XV^e, et XVI^e siècles* (Paris, 1965), 3, pl. 13.

VI-27 page 268

Book of Hours. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.

EX COLLECTIONS: L. Gruel, Paris. Henry Walters.

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1949: Illumi-

nated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, no. 81, repr. Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute, 1951: French Painting 1100–1900, no. 10 repr. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1962: The International Style, no. 50 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935), I, 789, no. 207. Rosy Schilling, "The Nativity and Adoration of the Child Christ in French Miniatures of the Early Fifteenth Century," *Connoisseur*, CXXX (December 1952), 168 (note).

VI-28 page 270

Belles Heures of John, Duke of Berry, in Latin and French, for Paris use. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection.

the Egerton Master, both of whom creatively depend on Italian art (cat. nos. V-15, VI-25).

The Belles Heures shows further evidence of creatively adopting compositional inventions, and iconographic and stylistic features from abroad. The Annunciation miniature depends in various ways on Italian prototypes: the Virgin's crossed arms, the separation of the Angel of the Annunciation across a room from the Virgin, the thin enframing columns. All recall elements in Florentine and Sienese painting, perhaps conveyed through Italian art works or artists in the Paris-Berry milieu. The rustic shed in the Nativity (folio 48 verso) recalls the Arena Chapel fresco by Giotto. According to Erwin Panofsky, this motif was revived by Giotto from early Christian sarcophagi. The woman pulling her hair in the Entombment miniature also seems to come from Giotto, as does the invention of the two draped and prostrate figures in the scene of the Plague at Rome (folio 73 verso). Friedrich Winkler suggested that the inhabited acanthus border which surrounds the Annunciation miniature seems to be derived from the Porta della Mandorla, one of the side doors of the Florence Cathedral executed between 1391 and 1397. The impact of such ornaments may have been conveyed to the north by the Florentine miniaturist working in Paris mentioned previously—Zebo da Firenze—who utilized inhabited acanthus borders freely in his manuscripts (see cat. no. VI-25).

Netherlandish traditions, too, may be felt in this manuscript. This is not surprising, as our family of painters originated from Nijmegen in Guelderland. Two examples of this may be noted among many. The Flight into Egypt (folio 63) seems to reflect the Virgin and Child on the famous altar wing panel of before 1399 by Melchior Broederlam. The diagonal Entombment follows that of the Netherlandish Passion Master in the Petites Heures (Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 18014), and possibly also that of the Egerton Master, who probably came from the Artois-Flanders area (cat. no. VI-25).

A thorough training in Paris undoubtedly left its marks on the

Limbourg Brothers' work in elegance of line and clarity of color. The linear expressiveness of the Altarcloth of Narbonne of circa 1375 may occasionally be felt in the Passion miniatures. At least one compositional invention carries over from their Paris experience. A miniature in a copy of Jacques de Varazze's Golden Legend (Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 414), which depicts the Virgin and Child surrounded by the Court of Heaven, is adapted by the Limburgs in the Belles Heures (folio 218).

Professor Panofsky has suggested that the influence of the Limbourg Brothers was eclipsed by that of the Bouicaut atelier, whose style and inventions benefited from widespread distribution and imitation. The Limbourg Brothers' work was restricted to fewer manuscripts; these were largely removed from circulation because of their ownership. However, the Belles Heures in itself had an important ramification after it left the estate of the deceased Duke, having been purchased by Yolande of Aragon, the wife of his nephew, Louis II of Anjou, King of Sicily (see cat. no. VI-33).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Léopold Délisle, *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie* (Paris, 1880), pp. 282–293. Léopold Delisle, "Les Livres d'Heures du duc de Berry," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXIX (1884), 106, no. xxiv; pp. 399–400, no. x. Alfred de Champeaux and P. Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'art exécutés pour Jean de France* (Paris, 1894), p. 119. Jules M. J. Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean, duc de Berry* (Paris, 1894–1896), I, 102, no. 349; p. 253, no. 960. Paul Durrieu, "Les 'Belles Heures' de Jean de France, duc de Berry," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXV (1906), 265–292. Rosy Schilling, "A Book of Hours from the Limbourg Atelier," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXI (1942), 194–197, pl. opp. p. 197. Jean Porcher, "Two Models for the 'Heures de Rohan,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VIII (1945), 1–4. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 62–63, 65; notes 62 3–6, 74 4, 249 3. Jean Porcher, *Les Belles Heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry* (Paris, 1953). Jean Porcher, *Les Manuscrits à peinture en France du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1955), pp. 3, 70, 86–87. Margaret B. Freeman, "A Book of Hours made for the Duke of Berry," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s. XV (December 1956), 93–104. Helen Comstock, "The Duke of Berry's 'Belles Heures,'" *Connoisseur*, CXXXIX (1957), 133–134, repr. 133. James J. Rorimer and Margaret B. Freeman, *The Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry, Prince of France* (New York, 1958). Fritz Neugass, "New Yorker Kunstsereignisse, pt. 1—Das Metropolitan erwarbein Studienbuch des Duc de Berry," *Die Weltkunst*, XXVIII (1958), cover and 5–6, repr. Jean Porcher, *The Rohan Hours* (London, 1959), pp. 5–6, 8, 11–12, 18. Margaret B. Freeman, "The Annunciation from a Book of Hours for Charles of France," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s. XIX (1960), 105, 109. Philippe Verdier, "A Medallion of the 'Ara Coeli' and the Netherlandish Enamels of the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XXIV (1961), 10, 13, 18–20, pls. 5, 6, 8. Millard Meiss, "French and Italian Variations on an Early Fifteenth-Century Theme: St. Jerome and his Study," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXII (September 1963), 147, 150–151, 156–157,

159–160, 162, figs. 5, 8, 10, 12, 13. Otto Pächt, "The Limburgs and Pisanello," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXII (September 1963), 110, 112, 113, figs. 2, 8. Bonnie Young, "A Jewel of St. Catherine," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, XXIV (1966), 319, 323, figs. 2, 3, 9, 10.

VI-29 page 274

Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André. great pioneers of naturalism.⁴ In this, his work points to the future developments of panel painting, especially in the Netherlands. However, his best work has such authority and intrinsic beauty that it should be appreciated in its own right.

EX COLLECTIONS: Jean II le Meingre (d. 1421). Jean III le Meingre (d. 1490). Aymar de Poitiers. Diane de Poitiers. Guyot de Villeneuve (sale, Paris, 1900, no. 2).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1904: Exposition des primitifs français, Section II of catalogue, p. 32, no. 86. Paris, Palais National des Arts, 1937: Chefs d'œuvre de l'art français, no. 771. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1955: Les Manuscrits à peintures en France du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle, no. 201. Stockholm, Musée National, 1958: Cinq Siècles de l'art français, no. 2. Paris, Archives Nationales, 1965: Pèlerins et Chemins de Saint-Jacques en France et en Europe, no. 258.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. G. A. Guyot de Villaneuve, *Notice sur un manuscrit français du XIV^e siècle; les Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut* (Paris, 1889). Paul Durrieu, "Les Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut du Musée Jacquemart-André," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, LXIII (1913), 74–81, 145–164, 300–314; LXIV (1914), pp. 28ff. Bella Martins, *Meister Franke* (Hamburg, 1929), p. 194, abb. 38. L. Baldass, *Jan van Eyck* (London, 1952), p. 17. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 54–61, 81, 106, 121, 159, 183, 190, 218, 267, notes 49¹, 55⁵, 56¹, 57¹, 58¹, 189⁴, 218⁴, 241², 249³, figs. 59–67. Friedrich Winkler in *Kunstchronik*, VIII (1955), 10. Jean Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures* (New York, 1959), pp. 58, 67, 69, 91.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

VI-30 page 276

La Cité de Dieu, by Saint Augustine, translated into French by Raoul de Presles. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.

EX COLLECTIONS: Abbé d'Orléans de Rothelin (sale, Paris, 1746, no. 456). DeBure(?). Sir Thomas Phillipps, Cheltenham (ca. 1830, vol. II only). Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., London (until 1960).

EXHIBITION: Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1962: The International Style, no. 54 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Comte A. de Laborde, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustine* (Paris, 1909), II, 323–327, n. 31; III, pl. XXVIII. Paul Durrieu, "Les Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut du Musée Jacquemart-André," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, LXIV (1914), 29. Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., *Catalogue 767* (London, 1957), no. 1, repr.

VI-31 page 278

Les Decades, by Livy, Books XXI–XXX, in French. Cambridge (Massachusetts), Harvard University, Houghton Library.

EX COLLECTION: Marquess of Lothian (sale, New York, January 27, 1932, no. 12).

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1949: Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, no. 93 repr. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard College Library, The Fogg Art Museum, and Houghton Library, 1955: Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts, no. 65 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1794, 1845 edit.), I, 68. Sir Robert Kerr, *Correspondence* (1875), II, 737.

VI-32 page 280

Book of Hours, in Latin, for Paris use. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1923: *Le Livre français*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1926: *Le moyen-âge*. London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1932: *Exhibition of French Art, 1200–1900*, no. 973. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1955: *Les manuscrits à peinture en France du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle*, no. 205.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Auguste Molinier, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine* (1885–98), I, 180–181. Paul Durrieu, "Les Heures du maréchal de Boucicaut du Musée Jacquemart-André," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, LXIV (1914), 24. Henri Marten, *La miniature française du XIII^e au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1923), p. 101. Guy de la Batut, "Les principaux manuscrits à peintures conservé à la bibliothèque Mazarine de Paris," *Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures* (1933), pp. 44–45. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), n. 54¹. Jean Porcher, *French Miniatures from Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1960), p. 69, fig. 75.

VI-33 page 282

Hours of Yolande of Anjou, formerly called the *Roban Hours*, in Latin, for Paris use. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

worldly spirituality. He was a "tortured visionary" as well as "an extremely conscientious craftsman,"² capable of subtle nuances of modeling, dramatic movement, and timeless monumentality.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Completely oblivious to the naturalistic landscapes and atmospheric effects which interested his contemporaries, the works of this artist are more real, more gruesome, and more tortured in an individual eloquence. The emotional character reminds us of the intensity of the Romanesque trumeau sculptures of Languedoc at Souliac and at Moissac.³

EX COLLECTIONS: Yolande of Aragon, wife of Louis II, King of Sicily and Duke of Anjou. René of Anjou. Antoine de Vandémont. Member of the Rohan family, possibly Marie de Lorraine, second wife of Alain IX, vicomte de Rohan. "Maison professe des Jésuites." Duc de la Vallière. Bibliothèque du Roi.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Palais du Louvre (Pavillon du Marsan) et La Bibliothèque Nationale, 1904: Exposition des Primitifs français, no. 89. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1926: no. 56. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1937: Les plus beaux manuscrits français à peintures du moyen-âge. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1955: Manuscrits à peintures du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle, no. 233. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1962: Europäische Kunst um 1400, no. 118, repr. pls. 140 and 141.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paul Durrieu, "Le Maître des 'Grandes Heures de Rohan' et les lescuier d'Angers," *La Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XXXII (1912), 81–98, 161–183. Abbé Victor Leroux, *Les Livres d'Heures Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1927), I, 281–290. Adelheid Heimann, "Der Meister der 'Grandes Heures de Rohan' und seine Werkstatt," *Städels-Jahrbuch*, VII/VIII (1932), 1–61. Louis Gillet, "Les Manuscrits aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles," *Arts et Métiers graphiques*, no. 60 (1937), p. 47. Jean Porcher, *Les Grandes Heures de Rohan* (Geneva, 1943). Jean Porcher, "Two Models for the 'Heures de Rohan,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VIII (1945), 1–6. Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting, 1400–1500* (London, 1949), no. 86, col. pl. 17, pls. 37–40. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), I, 74, 106; II, pl. 45. Jean Porcher, *The Rohan Book of Hours* (London, 1959).

³ Compare with *Ibid.*, p. 14.

VI-34 page 284

The de Buz Book of Hours, in Latin and French, for Paris use. Cambridge (Massachusetts), Harvard University, Houghton Library.

EX COLLECTIONS: Antoine de Buz, Seigneur de Villemareule and his wife Barbe de Loan (or Louen) (second quarter of the sixteenth century). Bernard Quaritch. George C. Thomas, Philadelphia. Rosenbach Company. William King Richardson.

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1949: Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, no. 96, pl. XLIII. Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute, 1951: French Painting 1100–1900, no. 13, repr. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum and Houghton Library, 1955: Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts,

no. 64, pl. 29. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1962: The International Style, no. 57, pl. LXI.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Erwin Panofsky, "The de Buz Book of Hours," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, III (1949), 163–182. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 73; notes 61¹, 133¹, 137⁶, 287⁸, fig. 96.

VI-35 page 288

Book of Hours, in Latin, for Paris use. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.

the front end of a long shadowy hallway. What a long way we have come from Duccio and Pucelle (see cat. no. v-15)!

In addition to style, certain other elements in this manuscript point to the Bedford atelier. A heraldic eagle gorged with a ducal crown (folio 118 and 156–156 verso) appears to have been repeated from the Bedford Hours in the British Museum (Add MS. 18850), where it supports the arms of the Duke of Bedford (folio 156 verso). The miniature of David and Bathsheba is said to be a close replica of the one in the Bedford Hours (folio 96). The pure colors, the use of white, the lavish use of gold, all point to the Bedford Master and his atelier.

However, the highly cooperative habits of artists in the book-illuminating workshops of the time will probably preclude any immediate attempt to identify the master of the three best miniatures in the present manuscript. The first step is to try to isolate the hand of the Bedford Master himself. This has already been ably done in Eleanor P. Spencer's recent article on the Hours in the British Museum.³ The Salisbury Breviary (Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 17294) must also be studied in a similar manner. It is only after this type of study is completed that, having gained a clearer idea of the artistic personality of the Bedford Master himself, we can turn to his associates and followers. The best master in the Morgan manuscript probably will remain in our consideration as a gifted follower. Millard Meiss has summed up the position of the present artist in suggesting that he was a follower of the Bedford Master, the Limbourg Brothers, and the Master of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur.⁴

EX COLLECTIONS: Leboeuf de Montgermont Collection. Ed. Rahir, Paris.

EXHIBITION: New York Public Library, 1933–1934: The Pierpont Morgan Library Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts, no. 117.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Catalogue of the Leboeuf de Montgermont Collection, VII (1914), no. 34. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), I, n. 61³.

³ Eleanor P. Spencer, "The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Bedford Hours," *Burlington Magazine*, CVII (October 1965), 495–502.

⁴ Letter from Professor Millard Meiss, July 5, 1966.

VI-36 page 290

Tapestry Panel with Winged Stags. Rouen (Seine-Maritime), Musée des Antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure.

notable in their relative naturalism, especially in contrast to the amusing lap-dog character of the rampant lions. The colors, now somewhat faded, are still striking as well as subtle. The curvilinear movement in the entwined banderoles and windblown standard gives a martial air to the scene which is echoed by the animated lions. The linear elegance and soft modeling of the dignified stags dominate.

The stylistic character and some of the details can be compared with several earlier tapestries, one of which can be absolutely identified with Arras, while the others are only tentatively assigned to that tapestry center. The documented work is a series of hangings made in 1402 for Canon Toussaint Prier, a product of the Arras workshop of Pierre Feré, preserved today in Tournai Cathedral. A Scene of a Romance, preserved in the Musée des arts décoratifs in Paris, is an example attributed to this center and datable circa 1420.³ The treatment of flowers, leaves, foreground, and distant space is related in all of these works. They might be considered with the present tapestry in relation to the same features which continue Franco-Netherlandish pictorial traditions. A confirmation is found in miniature painting produced in the same Franco-Netherlandish ambiance. For example, the backdrop niche made by the foliated thicket may be seen also in the miniatures for May and December by the Limbourg Brothers in the Très Riches Heures at Chantilly. This invention continues in a modified form in the later tapestries of the Loire (see cat. nos. VII-22 to 26).

If the Winged Stags tapestry may be tentatively localized in an Arras workshop, then its date in that center must be correlated with historical events there. It seems unlikely that a tapestry referring to the triumph of Charles VII could be given so splendid a form and execution in Arras before the reconciliation of Charles with Philip the Good of Burgundy which culminated in the Treaty of Arras in September 1435. One might even wonder whether the tapestry was a commemorative gift of the Burgundian house to the French king.

³ Jacques Dupont and Cesare Gnudi, *Gothic Painting* (Geneva, 1954), p. 160 repr. in color.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, 1900: Exposition retrospective de l'art français à 1800. Paris, London, New York, and Chicago, 1946-1948: La tapisserie française du Moyen-âge jusqu'à nos jours, nos. 41, 24, 44, 18 respectively. Alençon, 1951: Exposition des tapisseries. Copenhagen, 1954: Exposition de la tapisserie française. Alençon, 1954: La vénerie dans l'art. Rouen and Paris, Archives de France, 1956: "Jeanne d'Arc et son temps." Oslo and Bergen, 1958: La tapisserie française du moyen-âge à nos jours. Arras, 1962: Exposition "La Chasse" tapisseries du XV^e siècles à nos jours.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gaston Le Breton, "Notice sur deux anciennes tapisseries du Musée des Antiquités de Rouen," *Bulletin Commission antiquités Seine-Inférieure*, XI (1897-1899), 281. Jules Guiffrey, *Les tapisseries du XII à fin du XVI siècle* (Paris, n.d.), p. 181, n. 3, fig. 89. Joseph Destrée, "Etude sur les tapisseries exposées à Paris en 1900, au Petit-Palais et au pavillon d'Espagne," *Annales, Société d'archéologie de Bruxelles*, XVII (1903), 15-16, repr. Gaston Migeon, *Les arts du tissu* (Paris, 1909), p. 292. Emile Picot, "Note sur une tapisserie à figures symboliques conservée au Musée des Antiquités de Rouen," *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de Normandie*, XI (1910-1912), 111. Emile Picot, "Le cerf allégorique dans les tapisseries et les miniatures," *Bulletin de la Société française de Reproductions des manuscrits à peinture*, III (1913), part 2, p. 57, n. 2. J. J. Vernier, *Guide du Visiteur, Musée des Antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure* (Rouen, 1923), pp. 115-117. Gaston Migeon, *Les arts du tissu* (Paris, 1929), pp. 342, 344, repr. J. J. Marquet de Vasselon, *Bibliographie de la tapisserie, des tapis et de la broderie en France* (Paris, 1935), p. 176. Francis Salet, *La tapisserie française du moyen-âge à nos jours* (Paris, 1946), p. vii, pl. 19. Paul Martin, "La tapisserie royale des 'Cerfs-Volants,'" *Bulletin monumental*, CV (1947), 197-208. Stephen V. Grancsay, "Knights in Armor," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, VI (February 1948), 187 (detail repr.), 188. Roger-Armand Weigert, *French Tapestry* (London, 1962), p. 76, pl. XXII. Francis Salet, *L'art gothique* (Paris, 1963), pp. 174, 182, pl. XXV.

CHAPTER VII Late Gothic Art

VII-1 page 294

Saint Christopher. Saint Louis, City Art Museum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Meyric R. Rogers, "Two Late Gothic Sculptures," *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis*, XX (April 1935), 15-16. *Handbook of the Collections of the City Art Museum* (St. Louis, 1944), p. 37.

VII-2 page 296

Mourning Virgin from a Crucifixion Group. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: Georges Hoentschel. J. Pierpont Morgan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paul Vitry, *Michel Colombe* (Paris, 1901), p. 335. Paul Vitry, "Quelques bois sculptés de l'école tourangelle du XV^e siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3 Per., XXXI (1904), 115-118, repr. 116. Joseph Breck, *Catalogue of Romanesque, Gothic, and*

Renaissance Sculpture: Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1913), no. 320, p. 254. L. H. Coltineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieurés* (Macon, 1935). Marcel Aubert and Michèle Beaulieu, *Description raisonnée des sculptures du moyen-âge, de la renaissance et des temps modernes*, vol. I: *Moyen-Âge* (Paris, 1950), p. 208. Pierre Pradel, *Michel Colombe, le dernier image gothique* (Paris, 1953), pp. 39, 123, n. 117.

VII-5 page 302

Miniature showing Queen Medusa Enthroned. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: Jacques d'Armagnac, Duc de Nemours (d. 1476). Lord Mostyn, London (sale, July 13, 1920, no. 9: entire manuscript). Mme. Th. Belin, Paris (remainder of manuscript, sale, Paris, 1936). Durlacher Brothers, New York.

EXHIBITIONS: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1928: French Gothic Art of the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Century, no. 19 repr.; mentioned in chapter on painting. Brooklyn Museum of Art, 1936: European Art 1450-1500, no. 94, pl. 94. Baltimore Museum of Art, 1949: Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, p. 42, pl. XLVI. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum of Archeology, 1950: Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts. Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute, 1951: French Painting 1100-1900, no. 18 repr. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1953-1954: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: William M. Milliken, "Illuminated Miniatures in the Cleveland Museum of Art," *CMA Bulletin*, XII (April 1925), 70. Katherine Gibson, *The Goldsmith of Florence* (New York, 1929), repr. p. 28. Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1937), II, 1930.

VII-3 page 298

Saint Anthony, Armorial Hanging of the Chancellor Rolin. Beaune (Côte-d'Or), Hôtel Dieu.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Manufacture nationale des Gobelins, 1928; La tapisserie gothique, no. 4. Paris, Palais National des Arts, 1937: Chefs d'œuvre de l'art français, nos. 1275-1276. Paris, Musée d'art Moderne, 1946: La tapisserie française du moyen-âge à nos jours, nos. 23-31. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1947: French Tapestries, nos. 31-42. Brussels, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1951: Le Siècle de Bourgogne, no. 124.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jules Guiffrey, *Comité des travaux historique et scientifique: Bulletin archéologique* (1887), p. 239. Jules Guiffrey, *Les Tapisseries du XII à la fin du XVI siècle, in Histoire général des arts appliqués à l'industrie* (Paris, n.d.), VI, 68-69. Henri Stein, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Beaune* (Paris, 1933), pp. 83-84. Francis Salet, *La Tapisserie française du moyen-âge à nos jours* (Paris, 1946), pl. 14.

VII-4 page 300

Miniature showing Saint Veranus, Bishop of Cavaillon, Curing the Sick. New York, Wildenstein Foundation, Inc.

EX COLLECTIONS: Family of Etienne Chevalier, until the death of Nicolas Chevalier, Baron de Crissé in 1630 (the manuscript was still intact when seen by Gaignières, d. 1715). Louis Fenouillet, Shoreham, Sussex. Georges Wildenstein.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Sorbonne, 1947: Les Grandes Heures de Notre-Dame de Paris, no. 29. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1955: Manuscrits à peintures du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle, no. 248. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 1958: Fem sekler Fransk konst, I, 23-24; repr. II, no. 3.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Paul Wescher, *Jean Fouquet and his time* (Switzerland, 1947), p. 37. Jean Porcher, *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (February 19, 1947), p. 222. Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting, 1400-1500* (London, 1949), p. 212, no. 130.

VII-6 page 304

Mourner. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: M. M. Hocquart and Edouard de Broissia, Dijon, 1925. M. Legay, Nancy, 1876. Baron Arthur de Schickler, Martinvast, Normandy. Clarence Mackay, New York.

EXHIBITION: Paris, 1900: Exposition Universelle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Aenne Liebreich, *Claus Sluter* (Brussels, 1936), pp. 158, 207 (no. 67), pl. XXXVII, no. 2. Georg Troescher, *Die burgundische Plastik des ausgehenden mittelalters* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1940), II, pl. XCVI, no. 417. Henri David, *Claus Sluter* (Paris, 1951), pl. 48. William M. Milliken, "Two Pleurants from the Tombs of the Dukes of Burgundy," *CMA Bulletin*, XXV (October 1940), p. 121. Pierre Pradel, "Nouveaux documents sur le Tombeau de Jean de Berry, frère de Charles V," *Fondation E. Piot, Monuments et Mémoires*, XLIX (1957), 152-154, fig. 13a.

VII-7 page 306

Pietà. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection.

EXHIBITIONS: Antwerp, Musée royal de Beaux-Arts à Anvers, 1930: Exposition d'art flamand. Worcester, The Worcester Art Museum, 1939: The Worcester-Philadelphia Exhibition of Flemish Painting, no. 17.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Friedrich Winkler, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich, 1923), I, 255, fig. 275. C. Gaspar, *Trésor de l'art flamand*

du moyen-âge au XVIII^e siècle (Paris, 1932), II, 44. James B. Ford and G. Stephen Vickers, "Nano Goncalves and the Pietà from Avignon," *Art Bulletin*, XXI (1939), 12, n. 30.

VII-8 page 308

Portrait of an Ecclesiastic. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: Prosper Henry Lankrink (Lugt 2090). J. P. Heseltine (Lugt 1507). Henry Oppenheimer, London (sale, London, Christie's, July 10-14, 1936, no. 428 repr.). Lord Duveen, London. Duveen Brothers, Inc., New York (until 1949).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Palais du Louvre (Pavillon de Marsan) et Bibliothèque Nationale, 1904: Exposition des Primitifs français, no. 44. London, Grafton Galleries, 1909-1910: National Loan Exhibition, no. 119. London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1932: Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition of French Art, 1200-1900, no. 541. London, Christie, Manson, and Woods, 1936: Famous Collection of Old Master Drawings (Oppenheimer Collection), no. 428. Paris, Palais National des Arts, 1937: Chefs d'œuvre de l'art français, no. 437. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1950-1951: Masterpieces of Drawing, no. 10 repr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Roger Fry, in *Burlington Magazine* (July 1904), pp. 358 ff. Henri Bouchot, Catalogue, *L'Exposition des primitifs français, la peinture en France sous les Valois* (Paris, 1904), I, pl. XXXVIII. Comte Paul Durrieu, in *La Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* (1904), p. 415. Max J. Friedländer, in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlung*, XXXI (1910), 227. Sidney Calvin, *Vasari Society* (Oxford, 1913-1914), Part IX, no. 25 repr. Pierre Lavallée, *Le dessin français du XII^e au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1930), no. 31, pl. 19. Trenchard Cox, *Jean Fouquet* (London, 1931), p. 135. Klaus G. Perls, *Jean Fouquet* (Paris, 1940), p. 22, pl. 282. Charles Jacques [Sterling], *La Peinture française. Les Peintures du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1941), p. 18, no. 6 (du répertoire), p. 54. Hans Tietze, *European Master Drawings in the United States* (New York, 1947), p. 10, no. 5, repr. p. 11. Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting, 1400-1500* (London, 1949), p. 214, no. 139, pl. 92. Agnes Mongan, *One Hundred Master Drawings* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), p. 12, repr. p. 13. Regina Shoolman and Charles E. Slatkin, *Six Centuries of French Master Drawings* (New York, 1950), p. 4, pl. 2.

VII-9 page 310

Duke John II of Bourbon. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.

EX COLLECTIONS: Oscar Homberg (sale, Paris, May 16, 1908, no. 677). Henry Walters (sale, Mrs. Henry Walters, New York, May 1, 1941, no. 1083).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Martin Weinberger, "A French Model of the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, IX (1946), 9-21. Pierre Pradel, *Michel Colombe* (Paris, 1953), pp. 25-27, 30, pl. III. André Chastel, "Chronique de l'art ancien et moderne, fin du

moyen-âge et renaissance," *La Revue des Arts*, IV (March 1954), 59, fig. p. 58.

VII-10 page 312

Triptych with the Annunciation, David and Isaiah. Orléans (Loiret), Musée historique.

EX COLLECTIONS: Denis Dhéron. Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans (gift of Dhéron in 1829).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Exposition Universelle, 1900: no. 2626. Paris, Petit Palais, 1950: *La Vierge dans l'art français*, no. 229. Rome, Bibliothèque Apostolique Vaticane, 1963: *Emaux de Limoges*, no. 164.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Louis Bourdery, "Note sur un triptych en émail peint de Limoges, conservé au Musée historique d'Orléans," *Bulletin Archéologique, Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques*, X (1892), 426 ff. Gaston Migeon, "L'Exposition rétrospective de l'art française, Orfèvrerie et Emaillerie," *La revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, VIII (July-December 1900), 67. J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Les émaux limousins de la fin du XV^e siècle et de la première partie du XVI^e* (Paris, 1921), pp. 80-81, 242-243 (no. 51). Marvin Chauncey Ross, "The Master of the Orléans Triptych, enameller and painter," *Journal of The Walters Art Gallery*, IV (1941), 9-12, 17.

VII-11 page 314

Lady with Three Suitors. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: Moscardo, Verona (Lugt 2990b-h). Marchese of Calceolari.

VII-12 page 316

Saint Margaret. New York, Leopold and Ruth Blumka.

EX COLLECTION: Emile Molinier, Paris (sale, Paris, Galeries Durand-Ruel, June 21-23, 1906, no. 378 repr.).

VII-13 page 318

Bust Reliquary of Sainte-Félicule. Saint-Jean-d'Aulps, église paroissiale.

EXHIBITION: Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1965: *Les Trésors des églises de France*, no. 721.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: François Souchal, "Les bustes reliquaires et la sculpture," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXVII (April 1966), 214, fig. 13.

VII-14 page 320

Candelabrum with the Judgment of Paris. Saint-Omer (Pas-de-Calais), Musée municipal.

EX COLLECTION: M. Machart, Saint-Omer (until 1906).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), II, 435, no. 1244, pl. CCIV.

relation to specific disorders and ill health. Consequently, their context within the medieval hospital at Beaune takes on a special significance, which gives uniqueness to the present hanging among the larger group of tapestries produced in the ateliers of the Loire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jules Guiffrey, *Les Tapisseries du XII à la fin du XVI siècle*, in *Histoire général des arts appliqués à l'industrie* (Paris, n.d.), VI, 69. Louis Réau, *La peinture et les tapisseries, la Bourgogne*, in *Les richesses d'art de la France* (Paris, 1927), p. 48. Henri Stein, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Beaune* (Paris, 1933), p. 84.

VII-15 page 322

Triptych with Scenes from the Life of the Virgin. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

cameo with the Virgin and Child on one side and on the other an enamel scene of the Visitation. A frame, which binds the two together, gives an inscription which is closely related in the character of the letters to that on the Cleveland frame. Undoubtedly, other enamels in this style will be identified in the future, while for the present we can savor the exquisite world of these two examples.

EX COLLECTIONS: Kremlin, Moscow. Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York.

EXHIBITIONS: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1947-1948: Exhibition of Gold. The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1963: Gothic Art 1360-1440, no. 34 (exterior shutters called "ca.1400," interior shutters and back called "Close to Jean Bourdichon, ca.1495").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Joan Evans, *A History of Jewellery 1100-1870* (London, 1951), p. 79, pl. 33a ("Middle of the fifteenth century"). William M. Milliken, "The Art of the Goldsmith," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, VI (June 1948), 321, illus. 319, fig. 7 ("Burgundian, First half xv century").

VII-16 page 324

Story of Saint Eloi with Saint Fiacre. Beaune (Côte-d'Or), Hôtel Dieu.

Saint, dressed as a smith, kneeling and doffing his cap to the Virgin and Child before taking up the horse's severed leg. At the left is Satan, female in appearance and attire, holding two carnations and looking especially evil. At the right is a hermit saint, tonsured and haloed, holding a book and a spade. Contrary to the inscriptions above which repeat *Eloi Sanct Eloi*, this figure represents Saint Fiacre, the saint for healing sicknesses of an especially personal nature.⁴ Although Saint Eloi is a patron saint for goldsmiths and blacksmiths, and Saint Fiacre is a patron of gardeners as indicated by his spade, both representations may be explained in their curative aspect in

⁴ Réau, III, pt. 1, pp. 495-498.

VII-17 page 326

Angel Reliquary. Saint-Pavace (Sarthe), église.

EXHIBITION: Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1965: Les Trésors des églises de France, no. 245, pl. 209.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, III (July-September 1957), 158, repr. 159.

VII-18 page 328

Madonna and Child. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Philippe Verdier, "A Silver Statue from Champagne," *Bulletin of The Walters Art Gallery*, XV (March 1963).

VII-19 page 330

Triptych Showing the Annunciation and the Nativity. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery.

EX COLLECTIONS: Antocolsky (sale, Paris, June 10-12, 1901, no. 46 repr.). G. R. Harding, London. Henry Walters (acquired in 1901).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. J. Marquet de Vassélot, *Les émaux limousins* (Paris, 1921), pp. 158-159; pp. 298-299, no. 131. Philippe Verdier, *The Catalogue of the Renaissance Painted Enamels in The Walters Art Gallery* [in preparation].

VII-20 page 332

Relief Heads of a Man and a Woman. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: William M. Milliken, "Two Marble Heads, The School of Michel Colombe," *CMA Bulletin*, IX (January 1922), 2-6, repr. Pierre Pradel, *Michel Colombe, le dernier imagier gothique* (Paris, 1953), p. 139, n. 350.

VII-21 page 334

Portrait of a Nobleman. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EXHIBITION: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1963: Year in Review, no. 106 (*CMA Bulletin*, December 1963, repr. cover).

VII-22,23,24 page 336

Triumph of Youth, Triumph of Eternity, Triumph of Time. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

EX COLLECTIONS: Count Aramon, Chaumont. Lord Duveen, New York. Clarence H. MacKay, New York. French and Company, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. le Vte. Joseph Walsh, *Album du Château de Blois restauré et des Château de Chambord, Chénéeaux, Chaumont, et Amboise* (Blois, 1851), pp. 61-62. Marcel Fouquier, *Les grandes châteaux de France* (Paris, 1907), p. 77 repr. George Leland Hunter, *Practical Book of Tapestries* (New York, 1925), p. 103. George Leland Hunter, *The Tapestries of Clarence H. MacKay* (New York, 1925), pp. 65-67. Dorothy G. Shepherd, "Three Tapestries from Chaumont"; Rémy G. Saisselin, "Literary Background of the Chaumont Tapestries"; William D. Wixom, "Traditions in the Chaumont Tapestries," *CMA Bulletin*, XLVIII (September 1961), 159-177, 178-181, 182-190, respectively.

VII-25 page 336

Triumph of Love (fragment). The Detroit Institute of Arts.

EX COLLECTIONS: Marcell von Nemes, Munich. A. S. Drey, New York (until 1935).

EXHIBITIONS: Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum, and Baltimore Museum of Art, 1951-1952: Two Thousand Years of Tapestry Weaving, no. 84, pl. VIII.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Adele Coulin Weibel, "Eros Triumphant," *Bulletin of The Detroit Institute of Arts*, XIV (1935), 76, (repr.) 81. Dorothy G. Shepherd, "Three Tapestries from Chaumont"; Rémy G. Saisselin, "Literary Background of the Chaumont Tapestries"; William D. Wixom, "Traditions in the Chaumont Tapestries," *CMA Bulletin*, XLVIII (September 1961), 172-173, 181, 183. Charles Stern

386

ling, "La Pietà de Tarascon et les Peintres Dombet," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, XVI (1966), 23-24, fig. 20.

VII-26 page 342

The Concert. Paris, Musée des Gobelins et Salles d'Expositions.

EX COLLECTION: Acquired by the Musée des Gobelins in Alsace in 1890.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, Louvre and Bibliothèque Nationale, 1904: Exposition des primitifs français, no. 269. Paris, Musée des Gobelins, 1928: La tapisserie gothique, no. 26. Paris, Palais National des Arts, 1937: Chefs d'œuvre de l'art français, I, no. 1295. Paris, Musée des Gobelins, 1938: no. 2. Paris, Musée d'art moderne, 1946: La tapisserie française du moyen-âge à nos jours, no. 69. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1947: French Tapestries, no. 72. Madrid, Lisbon, 1952. Rome, Naples, Venice, Belgrade, Zagreb, 1953. Copenhagen, 1954. Besançon, 1955. Lima, Dallas, 1957. Prague, Bratislava, Ostrava, 1958. Salisbury, Johannesburg, Le Cap, 1959. Sofia, Bucharest, 1962. Tel Aviv, 1963. Dakar, 1964.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Louis de Farcy, *Monographie de la cathédrale d'Angers*, vol. III: *Le mobilier* (Antwerp, 1901), p. 131. *Inventaire général des richesses d'art de la France*, Paris: *Monuments civils* (Paris, 1902), III, 87-88. Jules M. J. Guiffrey, *Histoire général des arts appliqués à l'industrie*, vol. VI: *Les tapisseries du XII à la fin du XVI siècle* (Paris, n.d.), pp. 89-90, fig. 51. Francis Salet, *La tapisserie française du moyen-âge à nos jours* (Paris, 1946), pl. 35. Dorothy G. Shepherd, "Three Tapestries from Chaumont," *CMA Bulletin*, XLVIII (September 1961), 166, fig. 7.

VII-27 page 344

Plan in Relief of the City of Soissons. Soissons (Aisne), Cathédrale Saint-Gervaise-et-Saint-Protas.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, 1900: Exposition universelle rétrospective de l'art français à 1800, no. 1779. Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs, 1965: Les Trésors des églises de France, no. 98, pls. 212, 213.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Henry Havard, *Histoire de l'orfèvrerie française* (Paris, 1896), p. 207 repr. Etienne Moreau-Nelaton, *Les églises de chez nous, arrondissement de Soissons* (Paris, 1914), III, 72.

INDEX

Aachen, Cathedral Treasury, 192, 367
 Aachen, chandelier plates, 356
 Abbé V. Leroquais, 168, 224
 Abbeville, Musée du Ponthieu, 246
 Abbey church of Saint Bénigne, 76
 Abbey of Beaugerais, 296
 Abbey of Beaupré, 172
 Abbey of Cambron, 172
 Abbey of Citeaux, 202
 Abbey of Cluny, 34
 Abbey of Coulombs, 80
 Abbey of Grandmont, Treasury, 104, 105, 110, 114
 Abbey of Grandselve, Treasury, 160
 Abbey of Montmajour, 114, 116
 Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel, 30
 Abbey of Ourscamp, 146, 248
 Abbey of Pontigny, 92
 Abbey of Saint Aubin in Angers, 40
 Abbey of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer, 22, 26
 Abbey of Saint-Vanne, 32
 Abbot Dodolinus, 22
 Abbot Gerard (1082–1108), 40
 Abbot Odbert, 22
 Abbot Richard, 32
 Abbot Roger of Coulombs (1119–1173/74), 80
 Abbot Suger, 70, 254, 356
 Abel, 170
 Achaemenid sculptures, 84
 Adam, 105
 Adam and Eve, 172
 Adams, Frederick B., Jr., xii
 Adoration of the Magi, 199, 202
 Agnes of Burgundy, Countess of Poitou, 28
 Albi, choir statues, 190
 Alpais, G., 114, 116
 altar angels, 180, 186
 Altar at Klosterneuberg, 126
 Altarcloth of Narbonne, 222
 Altman collection of the Metropolitan Museum, 322
 Amanieux, F., 128
 Amiens, 168
 Cathedral, 182
 Bibliothèque municipale, MS. Lescalopier 2, 40, 170
 MS. 24, 1, 42, 50, 64
 Vierge dorée, 184

Anchin, 134
 d'Andely, Henri, 208
 Angel of Annunciation, 379
 Angers, 40
 Bibliothèque municipale, MS., 40
 MS. 4, 116
 Musée archéologique Saint Jean, 82
 Musée de l'Hôtel Prince, ivory, 194
 Anjou, 40
 Anne de France, 322
 Annunciation, xi, 2, 112, 180, 192, 200, 202, 210, 226, 242, 264, 268, 270, 280, 312, 330
 Annunciation Group, from the Vigouroux Chapel in the Cathedral of Rodez, now in the Church of Inières, 316
 Annunciation to the Shepherds, 202
 Anonymous lender, Noyon Missal leaf, 124, 144
 Antiphony of Beaupré, 172, 198
 Antoine Le Moiturier, 304, 310
 Antwerp, Musée Mayer van den Bergh, 98, 246, 250
 Anzy-le-Duc, tympanum, 36
 Aphrodite, 320
 Apocalypse, 26, 62
 Apocrypha, 68
 Apostle, 98, 120, 124, 134, 190
 Apostles, 232, 246, 254
 arcades, 170
 Archdiocese of Sens, 92
 architectural canopies, 30, 58, 68, 170
 excerpts, 68
 Aristotle, 208
 Arles, cloister, 120
 Arles, Saint Trophime, 78
 Arnoul, Archbishop of Lisieux (1141–1181), 118
 Arras, 6, 32, 88, 242, 290, 298, 366, 382
 Cathedral, 186
 Triptych of the Miracle of Sainte Chandelle, 186
 Artois-Flanders, 378
 Ascension of Christ, 14
 Atelier of the Tabernacles of the Virgin, 194, 202
 Athena, 320

Aubert, Marcel, 76, 118, 128, 140
 Autun, 2, 6, 64, 80
 Angel, 60
 Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 3, 12
 Cathedral of Saint Lazare, 62, 64
 Lazarus tomb, 120
 Auxon, Virgin and Child, 210
 Auxonne, Virgin and Child, 258
 Avignon, 2, 58, 224, 226, 266, 368, 373
 Cloister of the Cathédrale of Notre-Dame-des-Doms, 58
 Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 72, 30
 Baldass, Ludwig, 330
 Baldinucci, Filippo, 236
 Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 72, 76, 78, 86, 130, 150, 156, 176, 204, 208, 238, 246, 310, 328, 330
 MS. W.28, 88, 90, 104
 MS. W.115, 196
 MS. W.209, 268, 276, 372
 MS. W.321, 260
 MS. W.237, 373
 MS. W.759, 172, 198
 MS. W.770, 276
 Baltrusaitis, Jurgis, 353
 Baptism of Christ, 130
 Barnard, George Grey, 353
 bascinets, 372
 bas-de-page, 170, 172, 199, 365
 Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, Virgin from the Chapel Rieux, 316
 Beaugerais Abbey, 7, 296
 Beaulieu, 118
 Beaune, Hôtel Dieu, 3, 6, 298, 324, 336
 Beauneveu, André, 4, 230, 232, 238, 242, 244, 370
 Beaupré Convent, 172
 Beauvais Cathedral, 86
 Becket, Thomas, 116
 Bedford Master, 4, 220, 268, 274, 280, 282, 284, 288, 307, 372, 378, 381
 Bedford workshop, 298
 Beenken, 266

Belin, Mme. Th., collection, 302
 Bellac, église de Notre-Dame, Châsse, 1, 4, 46, 48
 Bellegarde, Virgin and Child, 316
 Belles Heures, 264, 270, 282, 284
 Belleville Breviary, 198
 Belshazzar, 66
 Benoist, Antoine, 94
 Berceure, Pierre, 278
 Berlin Museum, 150, 194, 368
 crayon drawing of Guillaume Juvenal des Ursins by Fouquet, 308
 retable representing the story of Saint Bertin by Simon Marmion, 306
 Bern, Bibliothèque municipale, Cod.318, 18
 Bernard de Montfaucon, 72, 74, 94
 Bernard VI, Marshal of France, 168
 Béroul, 208
 Berry, 232
 Bertram de Casals, 373
 Berzé-la-Ville, frescoes, 34
 Besançon, Collégiale Sainte-Madeleine, 134
 Betrayal of Christ, 14, 130, 226
 Betrayal of Christ in the Garden, 372
 Bible, 34
 Bible of the Abbey at Saint Aubin at Angers now in the library at Angers, 40
 Bible historiée, 282
 Bible of Robert de Billyng, 198
 Bible of San Callisto, Rome, 16
 Les Billanges, église, 150
 Bishop, 78, 138, 140
 Biville, chasuble, 140
 Blanche and Jean de France, *gisants* from Royaumont, 162
 Blanche de France, Duchess of Orléans, 196
 Blanche of Brittany, 196
 Blumka, Mr. and Mrs. Leopold, Collection, see: New York
 Bober, Harry, 220
 Boccaccio, *Des cleres et noble femmes*, 302
 Bondol, Jean, 3, 4, 192, 214, 220, 222, 234, 236, 246, 364, 378

- Bony, Jean, 118
 Book of Hours, 4, 260, 264, 268, 270, 274, 280, 282, 284, 288, 371, 372
 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 3, 7, 10, 16, 38, 88, 130, 158
 Mosaic enamel, 108
 translucent enamel triptych, 192
 Bouchot, Henri, 308
 Boucicaut atelier, 278, 280, 298, 379
 Boucicaut Master, 3, 4, 268, 274, 276, 280, 282, 284, 371, 378
 Bouillac, église, 160, 162, 178
 Boulogne, Reliquary of Saint-Sang, 174
 Bourbon Diptych, 322
 Bourbon-l'Archambault,
 Sainte-Chapelle, 310
 Bourbonnais, 310
 Bourdichon, Jean, 262, 302, 322, 330, 339
 Bourganeuf, 133
 Bourges, 232
 Cathedral, Notre-Dame-la-Blanche, 310
 Pierre Troussseau and Simon Aligret chapels, 232
 Church of Montermoyen, 353
 Church of Notre-Dame-de-la-Comtale, 78
 Dépot de la Cathédrale de Saint Etienne, 232, 254
 House of Jacques Coeur, lapidary collection, 353
 Musée du Berry, 5, 78
 Sainte-Chapelle, 232, 254
 Tomb of John, Duke of Berry, 304
 Brabant, 371
 Brandt, Sebastian, *Ship of Fools*, 320
 Branner, Robert, 80
 Breuilaufa, église, 6, 162
 Breviary, 372
 Broederlam, Melchior, 242, 274, 288, 379
 Bruges City Hall, consoles, 254
 Bruges, Saint Sauveur, Calvary of the Tanners, 378
 Brunswick, Cathedral of Saint Blasius, Treasury, 12
 Brunus, P., 120
 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 9047: *Le Livre des sept âges du monde*, 306
 MS. 9961–2: Peterborough Psalter, 170
 MS. 11060–61: *Très Belles Heures*, 236, 242, 244, 254, 260, 266
 Brussels, City Hall seated prophets, 254
 Brussels, Musée royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Châsse of St. Gondulphe, 96
 Burgundian, 28, 88
 Burgundian Nobleman, 308
 Burgundy, 3, 34, 60, 62, 64, 66, 76, 92, 238, 258, 294, 304, 334
 Bust Reliquary of Sainte-Félicule, 318
 Byzantine art, 26, 34, 84, 104, 114, 126, 134, 136
 Byzantine chalices, 70
 Byzantine enamels, 38
 Byzantine iconography, 126
 Byzantine ivory, 54, 100, 126, 152
 Byzantine manuscript, Rossano Gospels, 50
 Byzantium, 88
 Cain, 170
 Cain killing Abel, 276
 Cain, Julien, 9
 Calvary, 240
 Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS.150, 224, 226, 228, 374
 Cambrai, Musée municipal, 2, 90
 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 126
 Cambridge (Mass.), Fogg Museum 58, 72
 Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University, Houghton Library, Richardson MS. 32, 278, 284
 Richardson MS.42, 4, 284
 Candelabrum, 320
 Canon Toussaint Prier of Tournai Cathedral (d. 1437), 378, 382
 Canterbury Cathedral, 116
 Capital from Poitiers, 46
 Cardinal Godin, 224
 Cardinal Napoleone Orsini, polyptych, 266
 Carolingian ivories and manuscript illuminations, 120
 Carolingian Psalter at Utrecht, 16, 64
 Carthusian Monks, 234, 238
 Casket, 208
 Castelnau-d'Uze, church, 228
 castle of Bourbon-l'Archambault, 310
 Catalan, 282, 373
 Catalan manuscript illumination, 224
 Cathedral of Moulins, 262
 Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris, 94
 Cathedral of Tournai, 378
 Censing Angel, 60, 64
 Cerfs volants tapestry, 290
 Cézanne, 304
 Chaalis, Musée Jacquemart-André, 130
 Chalandon collection, 238, 374
 Chalice of Abbot Suger, 2, 70
 Châlons-sur-Marne, 2, 5, 74, 88, 90, 108, 118, 357
 Notre-Dame-en-Vaux, 98
 Champagne, 3, 7, 98, 138, 140, 184, 328
 champlevé enamel, 46, 48
 Champmol, Chartreuse de, *see:* Chartreuse de Champmol
 Chancellor Rolin, 6, 298
 Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS.65: *Très Riches Heures*, 270, 274, 282, 288, 382
 MS.1695: Psalter of Queen Ingeborg, 124, 130, 134, 144, 360
 Chapel of Balesis, 110
 chapelle-de-fer, 372
 La Charité-sur-Loire, 80
 Charlemagne, 14, 16, 322
 Charles d'Amboise, 336, 342
 Charles I of Bourbon and Agnes of Burgundy, 310
 Charles III, King of Navarre, Count of Evreux and Duke of Nemours, *see:* Hours of Charles the Noble
 Charles IV, 196
 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (1519–1556), 90
 Charles V (Valois), 198, 218, 220, 222, 250, 252, 256, 290, 376
 Charles VI (d. 1422), 252, 290
 Charles VII (1422–1461), 290, 300, 382
 Charles VIII, 314
 Charles the Noble, *see:* Hours of Charles the Noble
 Chartreuse de Champmol, 3, 200, 202, 234, 238, 240, 242, 250, 254, 256, 274, 294, 304, 310, 371
 portal, 200
 Well of Moses, 250, 254, 256, 258, 376
 Chartres, 74, 76, 94, 126, 136, 142, 144
 Châsse from Bellac, 48
 Châsse from Grandseille, 160, 162
 Châsse du Christ Legislateur, 160, 178
 Château of Chaumont, 336
 Château of Giallon, 332
 Château-Gontier, frescoes, 40
 Château du Verger, 342
 Chatelain, Jean, xii
 Chaumont tapestries, 6, 324, 336–339, 342
 chess, 206
 Chevalier, Etienne, 2, 300
 Chicago, The Art Institute, 6, 124, 138
 Book of Hours, 312
 triptych, 378
 Chrétien de Troyes, 208
 Christ, arrest of, 246
 Christ Carrying the Cross, 266
 Christ in Majesty, 170, 198, 200
 Christ Medallion, xi, 3, 12
 Christine de Pisan, 250
 Church at Javernant, 210
 Church of Magny, Marble Virgin and Child, 370
 Church of Notre-Dame-en-Vaux at Châlons-sur-Marne, 98
 Church of Saint-Géry-au-Mont-des-Boeufs, 90
 Church at Sarry, 98
 Cincinnati, Taft Museum, reliquary, 192
 Cistercian Convent of Saint Mary at Beaupré, 172
 Citeaux, 60, 88, 160, 202
 classicistic draperies, 124, 154, 162
 classicistic movement, 126
 classicistic style, 3, 6, 36, 124, 126, 130, 134, 144, 146, 154, 162
 Claus Sluter, *see:* Sluter, Claus
 Claus de Werve, 256
 Cleveland Capital, 68
 Cleveland Museum of Art, xi, xiii, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 40, 82, 88, 92, 96, 98, 104, 105, 108, 116, 118, 146, 148, 150, 152, 168, 170, 174, 190, 194, 196, 200, 206, 210, 212, 214, 218, 220, 222, 230, 232, 234, 236, 238, 242, 246, 250, 252, 254, 256, 262, 264, 268, 270, 302, 304, 308, 314, 322, 332, 334, 336, 364, 372, 378, 379, 382
 Cross by Master of the Grandmont Altar, 108
 Daniel Capital, 40, 68
 enamel Triptych from the Kremlin, 262
 Kneeling Prophet, 200
 Limoges Cross, 82, 105
 Madonna and Child, 230, 236
 MS. 24.428, 364
 MS. 24.1015, 302
 MS. 54.598, 92
 MS. 62.287, 168, 170, 196, 214, 220, 222, 234, 236, 246, 268, 372, 378
 MS. 64.40, 222, 238, 264, 268, 270, 379
 cloisonné enamel, 38
 Cloister of the Cathédrale Notre-Dame-des-Doms, 58
 Clovis (481–511), 12
 Cluniac frescoes at Berzé-la-Ville, 34
 Cluny, 2, 6, 7, 34, 62, 80
 Bible, 2
 Miter, 236, 244

- Musée Ochier, 62
 Saint Peter, 60
 Cockerell, Sydney, 172
 Colombe, Jean, 262
 Colombe, Michel, 6, 304, 310, 326, 332
 Colombes de Montpezat, Virgin, 316
 color, Catalan-Languedoc, 224
 columnar figures, 7, 88, 90
 Compostela, 54
 Comte de Laborde, 302
 Conant, Kenneth, 58, 62
 Confraternity of La Sainte-Croix in Avignon, 373
 Conques, Treasury, Portable Altar of Saint Foy, 38, 46
 Convent of the Cordeliers, Toulouse, 112
 Copenhagen, National Museum, chalice, 192
 cruet, 192, 250
 Copenhagen, Royal Library, Kristina Psalter, 144, 146
 Corbel, 158
 Corbie, 22, 60, 92
 Gospels, 42, 50, 64
 Coronation of the Virgin, 196, 264, 284, 340, 364
 Corporal Case, 152
 Corvei, 22
 Cottreau collection, 212, 230
 Le Coudray-Saint-Germer, église, 36
 Coulombs, 80
 Count Raymond V of Saint-Gilles, 120
 Counts of Toulouse, 160
 La-Cour-Dieu, Madonna and Child, 230
 Court of Heaven, 379
 Courtly Life tapestry series in the Cluny Museum, 322
 Cowled Head, 158
 Crosby, Sumner, 76, 80
 Crosier, 154, 176, 204
 Cross of Saint Bertin, 96
 Crozet, René, 78
 Crucifix, 82
 Crucifixion, 192, 204, 264
 Crucifixion Group, 2, 88, 296
 cruet with the *fleur-de-lis* Paris stamp now in Copenhagen, 250
 cult of the Holy Sacrament, 114
 cult of the Virgin, 182, 212
 d'Amboise, Charles, *see: Charles d'Amboise*
 Daniel, 4, 5, 66, 68, 80, 232
 Daniel Capital, 40, 68
 La Daurade in Toulouse, 68, 160
 David, 94, 170, 232, 312
 David and Bathsheba, 288, 381
 Deacon Saint, 150
 Death of the Virgin, 126, 130, 136, 260
 de Buz Book of Hours, 4, 284
 Decretum, 92
 Delacroix, Eugène, 154
 Demotte, G. J., 353
 Dennery, Etienne, xii
 Deposition, 238, 270, 378
Des cleres et nobles femmes, 302
 Destrée, Joseph, 250
 Detroit Institute of Arts, 4, 154, 258, 336
 Triumph of Love (fragment)
 tapestry, 324
 Virgin, 254
 Dijon, 76, 226, 232
 Bibliothèque municipale,
 MS.168, 60
 Musée archéologique, 2, 5, 76
 Musée des Beaux-Arts, 5, 48, 202
 Saint Bénigne, 2, 5, 6, 76, 294
 Dives and Lazarus, feast, 365
 d'Orléans, Jean, *see: Jean d'Orléans*
 Douai, Bibliothèque municipale,
 MS.90: Missal of Anchim, 124, 134, 144
 Drawing on boxwood, 244
 Dreiturmreliquiar in Aachen, 367
drôleries, 198
 Dublin, Trinity College Library, Book of Kells, 48
 Duccio, 222, 381
 Duccio's Maesta, 201, 368
 Dupont, Jacques, xi
 Durrieu, Paul, 236
 Ebbo, Archbishop of Reims (816–835/45), 18
 Ebbo Gospels, 42
 Ecclesia, 56, 114, 134
 "Ecclesia Master," 134
 Ecclesiastic, 308
 Edward III, 218
 Edward, the Black Prince, 218
 Egerton Master, 222, 238, 264, 268, 270, 378, 379
 Eisler, Colin, 262
 Elders of the Apocalypse, 5, 26
 Eleanor of Aquitaine, 70
 Elijah, 96
 Elizabeth of Hungary, 192
émaile en ronde-bosse, 252
 embroidery, 2, 152
 empirical perspective, 274
 enamel, 162
 champlevé, 46, 48, 96, 104, 105, 108, 114, 116, 126, 130, 148, 150, 154
 cloisonné, 12, 38, 174
 encrusted on gold, 252
 painted, 5, 312, 330
 translucent, 6, 174, 192, 250, 252
 Enamel Triptych, 322
en coquille (shell technique), 326, 328
 English influence, 3
 Enlart, Camille, 118, 174
 Enthroned Virgin, 226
 Entombment, 130, 222, 270, 300, 378, 379
 Epernay, Bibliothèque municipale, MS.1, 18
 Eros, 338
 Etamps, 90
 Eternity, 336
 Etienne de Muret, 104
 Eucharistic Coffret, 114, 116, 202
 Evans, Joan, 56, 256, 314, 322
 Fage, René, 100
 Fainting Virgin, 240
 Fécamp, 30
 Feré, Pierre, 382
 Fishmonger, 365
 Flagellation of Christ, 130
 Flamel, Jean, 270
 Flight into Egypt, 199, 202, 284, 379
 Florence, Bargello, Saint Martial Limoges relief figure, 150
 small Diptych, 242
 Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Rabula Gospels, 50
 Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, 368
 Florence, Santa Croce, Taddeo Gaddi fresco, 288
 Florence, Uffizi Gallery, Portinari Altarpiece by Hugo van der Goes, 330
 Focillon, Henri, 118
 Fouchet, Christian, xii
 Fountain, 250, 376
 Fouquet, Jean, 2, 5, 262, 296, 300, 302, 308, 312, 339
 François, Maître, 5, 202
 François, I, 340
 Franco-Netherlands, 254, 256, 270, 274
 Frankish, 28
 Frankish Kingdom, 12
 Freeman, Margaret B., 66
 frescoes, 34, 40, 116
 Friend, A. M., 22
 Frinta, Mojmir, 242
 Froissart, Jean, 232
 Fulda, 22
 Fulk, 40
 Gabriel de Saint Aubin, 124
 Gaddi, Taddeo, 288
 Galahad, 208
 Gallo-Roman stelae, 54
 Garden of Paradise, 340
 Gassies, G., 84
 Gauthier, Marie-Madeleine S., xii, 38, 46, 96, 102, 108, 114, 116, 126, 150, 162
 Gawain, 208
 Gentil, Jehan, 238, 374
 Geoffroy-Dechaume, 94
 Georges de la Sonnette, 294
 Gerard de Viane, 172
 Gimel, châsse, 108
 Giotto, 201, 379
 Girard de la Chapelle, 238, 374
 Gislebertus, 6, 64, 352
 Glorification of the Virgin, 236
 Godin, Cardinal, 224
 Goldschmidt, Adolph, 26
 Goliath, 170
 Gospel Lectionary at Bamberg Cathedral, 50
 Gospels, 4, 5, 18, 22–25, 30, 42, 50, 60, 64, 86
 Gospels from the Abbey of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer, 30
 Gospels from Saint-Omer, 86
 Gospels made for Ebbo, Archbishop of Reims (816–835/45), 18
 Gotha Missal, 168, 170, 196, 214, 220, 222, 234, 236, 246, 268, 372, 378
 Gouron, Marcel, 120
 Grande Chartreuse, 270
 Grandmont, 50, 104, 105, 110, 114, 148, 150, 162
 Grandmont altar frontal, 148, 162
 Grandrif, église, 2, 184
 Grandselve, Treasury, 160
 Grapes of Canaan, 96
 Gratianus, Franciscus, 92
 Green, Rosalie B., 5, 68, 353
 Greenhill, Eleanor S., 6, 124
 Grille from the Abbey of Ourscamp, 248
 grisaille, 7, 220, 222, 236, 260
 grisaille drawing lent from the Louvre, 236, 260
 Grivot, Denis, 352
 Grodecki, Louis, 357
 Gudohinus Gospels of 754 (Autun MS. 3), 12
 Guelph Treasure, xi, 3
 Guéret, Musée archéologique, 108
 Gui de Pileo, 164
 Guillaume de Boesses, Bishop at Orléans, 154
 Guillaume de Lorris, 206

- Guillaume VII, Duke of the Aquitaine, 28
 Hague Bible, 214, 220
 Hague, The, Musée Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS. 10B 23: Bible of Charles V, 214, 220
 Hainaut, 371
 Hamann, Richard, 120
 Harding, Stephen, 60
 Hell mouth, 276
 Henri d'Andely, 208
 Henry II, 32
 Henry II Plantagenet, 104, 116
 Henry the Liberal, 96
 Hera, 320
 Heraclius, 30, 270
 Herbert of Bosham, 92
 Hildburgh, W. L., 6, 162
 Hildesheim, Bernward's bronze doors, 100
 Honoré, Maître, 192, 196, 200, 250, 364, 368
 Hours, 168, 198, 201, 224, 226, 228, 282, 379
 Hours of Charles the Noble, 222, 238, 264, 268, 270, 379
 Hours of Etienne Chevalier, 2, 300
 Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, 196–201, 214, 220, 222, 369
 Hugh of Semur, Abbot of Cluny (1049–1109), 62
 Hugo Lacerta, 104
 Hugo van der Goes, 330
 Hulin de Loo, George, 308
 Humbert, altar angels, 186
 Ille-de-France, 3, 6, 70, 72, 78, 80, 84, 94, 118, 124, 180, 182, 192, 194, 196, 198, 202, 204, 206, 208, 212, 214, 220, 222, 234, 236, 260, 264, 266, 268, 274, 276, 278, 280, 288
Ildefonsus at Parma, 34
image de chevet, 306
 Incredulity of Thomas, 14
 Ingeborg, Psalter of Queen, 124, 130, 134, 144, 360
 instruments of the Passion, 120
 International Style, 3, 6, 264, 322, 367
 Iranian textiles, 28
 Isaiah, 232, 312
 Israel von Meckenem, 330
 Istanbul, 250
 ivory, 14, 16, 32, 146, 182, 194, 206, 208, 246, 320
 Ivory crucifix, Gildhall Museum, London, 82
 Jacquemart de Hesdin, 242, 260, 266
 Jacques d'Armagnac, Duc de Nemours, 302
 Jacopo della Quercia, 188
 jamb figure, 7
 Jameson, Anna, 316
 Janville, église, 2, 180
 Jaujard, Jacques, xii
 Javert, formerly, Annunciation Group, 7
 Jean de Beaumetz, 3, 4, 238, 240, 374, 378
 Jean de Bruges, *see: Bondol, Jean*
 Jean de Cambrai, 232, 310
 Jean de Liège, 370
 Jean de Marville, 256
 Jean de Meung, 206
 Jean de Moreuil, 168
 Jean II le Bon, 218, 278
 Jean II le Meingre, Maréchal de Boucicaut, 274
 Jean d'Orleans, 222
 Jeanne d'Evreux, 196, 198, 220, 371
 Jerusalem, 54
 Jestaz, Bertrand, xii
 Job, 60
 John, Duke of Berry, 230, 232, 236, 238, 260, 266, 270, 282, 304, 381
 John II, Duke of Bourbon, 6, 310
 John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, 304
 Jotrand, Mireille, 96
 Journey of the Magi, 202
 Jubé of the Cathedral of Rouen, 248
 Judgment of Paris, 320
 Julien, Guillaume, 174
 Kansas City (Missouri), William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, 80, 100
 Katzenellenbogen, Adolph, 76
 Kautzsch, Rudolf, 134
 Kiss of Judas, 372
 Kleinschmidt, Helen, 62
 Kneeling Prophet, 200
 Koechlin, Raymond, 188, 194, 202, 210, 246
 Kofler collection, 126
 Labande, H., 373
 Lacerta, Hugo, 104
 Lady with Three Suitors, 314
Lai by Henri d'Andely, 208
 Lamentation, 368
 Landais, Hubert, xi
 Langres Museum, ivory Annunciation group, 210
 Languedoc, 3, 54, 56, 88, 112, 120, 160, 164, 190, 224, 228, 316, 367, 373
 Languedocian manuscripts, 282
 Lanepce, Raymond, xii
 Lasbordes, church, 228
 Last Judgment portals, 120
 de Lasteyrie, R., 236
 Last Supper, 14, 130
 Lauer, Philippe, 34
 Lavallée, Pierre, 236, 308
 Lazarus, 64
 Leandro, Bishop of Seville, 60
 Lectionary, 34
 Lee, Sherman E., xi–xiii, 206
 Lefrançois-Pillion, Louise, 212
 Lehman, Robert, 322
 Lelli, Teodoro, Bishop of Treviso, 308
 Le Mans, Cathedral, tapestries with the Lives of Saints Gervais and Protas, 324
 Treasury, 28
 Leningrad, Hermitage, 150
 Leopard d'or, 218
 Lérida, Cathedral of, 112
 Leroquais, Abbé V., 168, 224
 Le Roy, Martin, 130, 174, 186
 Lesche, Madonna, 212
Les Decades, 278
 Lestocquoy, Chanoine J., 186
 Lèves, 142
 Life of Saint Aubin, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, 40
 Life of the Virgin, 156, 202, 322
lignum ritae, 100, 164
 Limbourg Brothers, 3, 4, 264, 270, 282, 284, 288, 381
 Limoges, 50, 102, 108, 114, 116, 126, 130, 148, 154, 162, 312, 330
 Cathedral of Saint-Etienne, 50, 102
 Collégiale of Saint-Martin, 130
 copper-gilt reliefs, 130–133, 360
 Cross, xi, 104, 105
 enamel, 4, 5, 8, 10, 104, 105, 108, 114, 116, 126, 130, 148, 154, 312, 330
 Musée municipal, 2, 5, 102, 104, 114, 202
 Saint Martial, 56
 Limousin, 3, 6, 50, 100, 102, 104ff., 108, 110, 114, 116, 126, 130, 148, 154, 162
 Livy, *Les Decades*, 278, 284
 Loire Valley, 3, 6, 68, 230, 324, 336–339, 342, 382
 tapestries, 324, 336–339, 382
 Lombard art, 266
 London, British Museum, Add. MS. 18850, 372, 381
 Add. MS. 17738: Bible of Floreffe, 98
 MS. Egerton 1070: Book of Hours, 264
 MS. Harley 1585, 356
 London, Gildhall Museum, ivory, 82
 London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 162, 246
 translucent enamel triptych and leaf from a diptych, 192
 Virgin and Child, 328
 London, Wallace collection, 322
 Lorraine, 3, 158
 Lorris, Madonna and Child, 230
 Louis I, Duke of Anjou, 250
 Louis II, King of Sicily and Duke of Anjou, 282, 322, 379
 Louis VII, 70
 Louis IX, 218
 Louis XI, 300
 Louis XII, 324
 Louis de Male, 252
 Louviers, église de Notre-Dame, 2, 240
 Love, 336
 Love, courtly, 208
 Loypeau, Etienne, Bishop of Luçon (1388–1407), 260
 Lucerne, Kofler collection, 126
 Luçon Master, 260, 268
 Lyon, Cathedral of, 136
 Treasury of the Cathedral, 2, 152
 Lyonnaise, 136
 Mabillon, 84
 Mackay, Clarence, 256
 Mâcon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 1–2: Cité de Dieu, 302
 Madonna and Child from Ourscamp, 146, 162
 Madonna and Child sculptures, regional groupings, 370
 Madonna of Humility, 340
 Madonnas, 230
 Madrid, MS. E e 27, 373
 Mainz, 158
 Maître-Devallon, R., xii
 Maître François, 5, 302
 Maître Honoré, 192, 196, 200, 250, 364, 368
 Maître de Moulins (Jean Prevost), 262, 322, 330, 334
 Mâle, Emile, 4, 50, 56, 84, 118, 201, 232, 368
 Malouel, Jean, 371, 378
 Malraux, André, xi, xii
 Malval Châsse, 108
 Malval, Church, 108
 Man and Serpent (Laocöon?), 170
 Man of Sorrows, 264
 mandrake, 372
 Mansel, Jean, 306

- Mantegna, 340
 Mantes, 2, 357
 Cathedral, 98
 tympanum, 108
 Dépôt de la Collégiale Notre-Dame, 118
 Marchiennes, 86
 Maréchal de Boucicaut, 274, 276, 371
 Margaret of Brabant, 252
 marginal illustrations, 170, 172, 365
 Marie de Bornaing, 172
 Marmion, Simon, 306
 Marquet de Vasselon, J. J., 150, 154, 312
 Marriage of the Virgin, 288
 Martin, Arthur, 152
 Martin, Paul, 290
 Martini, Simone, 210, 266
 Martyrdom of Saint Thomas Becket, 116
 Massacre of the Innocents, 199, 202
 Master of Aix, 296, 304
 Master G. Alpais, 114, 116
 Master, Bedford, *see*: Bedford Master
 Master, Boucicaut, *see*: Boucicaut Master
 Master of the Breviary of Jean sans Peur, 381
 Master, Egerton, *see*: Egerton Master
 Master, François, *see*: Maître François
 Master of 1402, 378
 Master of the Grandmont Altar, 4, 5, 104, 105
 Master of the Louis XII Triptych, 5, 330, 332
 Master of Mary of Burgundy, 302
 Master of the Orléans Triptych, 5, 312
 Master, Rohan, *see*: Rohan Master
 Master of Saint Giles, 124
 Mauriac, Church, tympanum, 50
 Maurice de Sully, Bishop of Notre-Dame in Paris (1160–1196), 94
 Meaux, Benedictine Abbey Church of Saint-Faron, 84
 Meaux, Musée municipal, 84, 140
 Medallion with Bust of Christ, xi, 3, 12
 medieval Passion play, 214
 Meditation on the Passion, 238, 246
 Mehun-sur-Yevre, 238
 Meiss, Millard, 260, 264, 266, 278, 378, 381
 Melun (formerly), altar diptych by Jean Fouquet, 300
 le Merlerault, chapel, 142
 Merovingian, 1, 3, 12
 châsses, 46
 Mesuret, Robert, 224
 Metz, 16, 92, 158
 Micah, 232
 Michel, Jean, 294
 Michel de Villoreau, Bishop of Angers, 154
 Michelangelo, 120
 Milan, Poldi-Pezzoli Museum, tabernacle, 192
 Milliken, William M., xi, 10, 332
 Millin, Aubin-Louis (1759–1818), 234
 Miner, Dorothy, xii, 224, 260, 268, 371, 373
 Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 7, 130
 Miracle of the Grain Field, 202
 Miracle of Saint Louis, 201
 Mirror Cases, 206
 Missal, 4, 124, 144, 224, 226, 228, 373
 Missal of Anchin, 360
 Missal of Maroilles, 357
 Miter, 222, 236, 244
 Modigliani, Amadeo, 84
 Moissac, 118
 trumeau figure of Jeremiah, 42
 trumeau sculpture, 381
 Monastery at Fécamp, 30
 Monceaux-le-Comte, 230
 Monte Cassino, 34
 Montermoyen, 353
 de Montfaucon, Bernard, 72, 74, 94
 Montpellier Museum, apostle reliefs, 358
 Montreal, Mr. and Mrs. L. V. Randall Collection, 2, 34
 Mont-Saint-Michel, 30, 32
 Monvaerni atelier, 312
 Moralia in Job, 60
 Morand, Kathleen, 196, 198
 Morel, Jacques, 6, 310, 316
 Mosan, 7, 9
 enamels, 96, 108
 Phylactery, 96
 Moscow, Kremlin, 262
 Moses, 96, 118
 Mostyn, Lord, collection, 302
 Moulins, 310
 Cathedral, Popillons Chapel, stained glass, 262
 Triptych, 262
 Triptych, by Maître de Moulins (Jean Prevost), 330
 Mourner, 3, 4, 256, 304
 Mourning Virgin, 296
 Mouton d'or, 218
 Müller, Theodor, 294
 Munich, National Museum, MS. 3005: Book of Hours, 306
 Nantes Cathedral, Tomb of François II of Brittany and Marguerite de Foix, 326
 Naples, Triptych by Jean Bourdichon, 322
 Narbonne, Trésor de la cathédrale Saint-Just, 1, 3, 14, 164
 Nativity, 192, 202, 276, 330
 Naumberg Master, 158
 Near Eastern sources, 3
 Nef, 174
 New York, Mr. and Mrs. Leopold Blumka collection, 6, 190, 192, 316
 New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1, 2, 3, 7, 26, 60, 64, 74, 94, 150, 162, 190, 228, 296, 308, 328
 Altman Collection, 322
 Annunciation tapestry, 242
 Belles Heures, 264, 270, 282, 284
 Bury Saint Edmunds walrus ivory cross, 100
 Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, 196–201, 214, 220, 222, 369
 Limoges enamel cross, 100
 Shrine of Elizabeth of Hungary, 192
 silver cross, 82
 translucent enamel pendant, 192
 New York Public Library, Spencer MS. 33, 302
 Spencer MS. 49, 224, 226, 228
 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 10
 Eucharistic Casket from Lichtenthal, 368
 MS. M.44, 130
 MS. M.333, 22–25, 30, 60, 86
 MS. M.346a, 236, 244
 MS. M.453, 268, 288
 MS. M.641, 30
 MS. M.729, 168, 198, 201
 tabernacle, 192
 New York, Mr. and Mrs. Germain Seligman Collection, 262
 New York, Wildenstein Foundation, Inc., 300
 Nicholas of Verdun, 126, 130, 134, 150, 360
 Night of Golgotha, 270
 Nijmegen (Guelderland), 379
 Nikolaus Gerhaert von Leyden, 134, 294
 Nordenfalk, Carl, 34, 198, 266
 Normandy, 30, 142, 178, 240
 Northeast France, 3, 22, 26, 36, 86, 88, 90, 146, 172, 306
 Notre-Dame de Grasse, 190
 Notre-Dame-en-Vaux, Châlons-sur-Marne, 98
 Noyon, 144
 Noyon Missal leaf, 144, 146, 360
 Odbert, 26
 Officium, 224, 226, 373
 Ogier le Danois, 84
 Old Testament King, 74
 Oman, Charles, 250, 328
 order of Saint Michel, 310
 organ, 170
 Orléans, Musée historique, 312, 330
 Ostia, Vera K., 5, 74
 Ottonian art, 100
 Ottonian influence, 3
 Ottonian manuscripts, 28, 50
 Ourscamp, 146, 162, 248
 Pächt, Otto, 22, 242, 266, 268, 373
 Palace School of Charles the Bald, 16
 Pamplona, Cathedral, base of a large reliquary cross, 192
 Panofsky, Erwin, 198, 201, 220, 242, 266, 274, 284, 288, 379
 Paris, 124, 174, 192, 194, 196, 198, 202, 204, 206, 208, 212, 214, 220, 222, 226, 234, 236, 260, 264, 266, 268, 274, 276, 278, 280, 284, 288, 290
 Paris, Bibliothèque Arsénal, MS.1184: Gospels of Afflighem, 356
 Hours from Rohan atelier, 284
 no. 5066, 337
 Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS. 341, 357
 MS. 469, 280
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Sardonyx Nef, 70
 MS. fr. 414: Jacques de Varazze's Golden Legend, 379
 Ms. fr. 926: *Recueil de traités didactiques*, 266
 Ms. fr. 2091: Life of Saint Denis, 201
 MS. fr. 9561: Bible historée, 282, 368
 MS. fr. 12091: Psalter, 244
 MS. fr. 13091, 232, 236, 254
 MS. fr. 19093, 144, 164
 MS. lat. 848, 373
 MS. lat. 919: Grandes Heures du duc de Berry, 266
 MS. lat. 8886: Missal and Pontifical, 260
 MS. lat. 9438, 5, 50, 104, 105, 108, 170
 MS. lat. 9471, 1, 282, 379

- MS. lat. 10483: Belleville
 Breviary, 196, 198, 368
 MS. lat. 11935: Bible of Robert
 de Billyng, 198
 MS. lat. 17294, 372, 381
 MS. lat. 17318, 144
 MS. lat. 18014: Petites Heures of
 John, Duke of Berry, 222, 379
 MS. nouv. acq. lat. 1390, 40
 MS. nouv. acq. lat. 2246, 34
 Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève,
 MS. 1278, 284
 Paris, Cathedral of Notre-Dame,
 2, 90, 138, 144, 300
 Judgment Portal, 6, 7, 124, 126,
 134, 146, 150
 Portal of Saint Anne, 5, 94
 trumeau Virgin at north transept
 portal, 180, 182
 Paris, Chartreuse, 234
 Paris, Château de Vauvert, 374
 Paris, Dépôt des Monuments
 historiques, 136
 Paris, Martin Le Roy collection,
 130, 174, 186
 Paris, Musée des arts décoratifs,
 Angel of the Annunciation, 180
 tapestry, 382
 Paris, Musée des Gobelins, Concert
 tapestry, 324
 Paris, Musée des Gobelins et Salles
 d'Expositions, 342
 Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André,
 MS. 2, 1, 274, 276, 371
 Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1, 2, 3, 126,
 130, 136, 140, 150, 194, 210, 266
 altar angels, 186
 Altarcloth of Narbonne, 222, 236
 Cabinet des Dessins, 236
 Ciborium from the Abbey of
 Montmajour, 114, 116
 Eleanor Vase, 70
 ivory Virgin from Sainte-Chapelle,
 182, 184, 188
 Martyrdom of Saint-Denis by
 Jean Malouel and Henri
 Bellechose, 378
 relief of Saint George and the
 Dragon by Michel Colombe, 332
 Retable from Sainte-Chapelle, 234
 Sardonyx Ewer, 70
 silver-gilt Virgin of Jeanne
 d'Evreux, 184, 192, 212
 trinity tondo by Jean Malouel,
 371, 378
 Virgin and Child of Olivet, 332
 Paris, Musée National des Thermes
 et de l'Hôtel de Cluny, 104, 105,
 130, 222, 236, 244
 Ariadne ivory, 54
- Courly Life Tapestries, 324
 Depart for the Hunt Tapestry, 324
 Life of Saint Stephen Tapestry, 324
 Paris, Musée du Petit-Palais, 146,
 150, 162
 Paris, Sainte-Chapelle, 182
 apostle sculptures, 180, 366
 retable, 234
 stained glass, 156
 treasury, 182
 treasury (formerly), Bust reliquary
 of Saint Louis, 174
 Paris, son of King Priam of Troy, 320
 Passion, 156, 214, 238, 246
 Pen and brown ink and ink wash on
 paper, 314
 pendant, 322
 Pentecost, 14, 246
 Penzer, N.M., 250
 Pepin de Huy, Jean, 370
 Perceval, 208
 Perrecy-les-Forges, tympanum, 36
 Perrier, Jean, 102
 Persepolis, 84
 Petrarch's *Trionfi*, 336
 Philadelphia, John G. Johnson
 Collection, 306
 Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1, 10,
 142
 Philibert de Savoie, 304
 Philip the Bold, 3, 4, 222, 234, 242,
 252, 254, 256, 294, 310
 Philip IV, 218
 Philippe d'Artois, 196
 Philippe le Bel, 368
 Philippe le Hardi, *see: Philip the*
Bold
 Physiologus at Bern, 18
 Pierre de Beaujeu, 322
 Pierre de Navarre (d. 1412), 374
 Pierre de Rohan (d. 1513), 342
 Pietà, 306
 Pietà Madonna, 284
 Plague at Rome, 379
 Plancher, Dom, 74
Play of Daniel, 66
 Poitiers, 2
 Church of Saint Hilaire,
 choir, 28
 Musée des Beaux-Arts, 133
 Musées municipaux, 28, 46
 Poitou, 28
 Pol, Jean, and Herman de Limbourg,
 270
 Pontigny, 60, 92
 Pontius, Abbot of Cluny
 (1109–1122), 62
 Pope Clement IV (d. 1268), 164
 Pope Hadrian IV, 58
 Pope Innocent III, 126
- Porcher, Jean, 9, 32, 40, 42, 50, 92,
 224, 264, 280, 282, 373
 Portable Altar of Saint Foy at
 Conques, 38, 46
 Portal of Saint Anne, Notre-Dame,
 Paris, 94
 Portal of Saint John at Sens, 118
 Porter, A. Kingsley, 54, 58
 Porte de Miègeville, the portal of
 the south transept of the church of
 Saint Sernin at Toulouse, 54
 Prache-Paillard, Anne, 98
 Pradel, Pierre, xi, xii, 6, 102, 304
 Presentation, 202, 264
 Pressouyre, Léon, 5, 98
 Preuilly-sur-Claise, Collégiale of
 Saint Meleine, capitals, 10
 Prevost, Jean, 262, 322, 330, 334
 Prier, Toussaint, Canon of Tournai
 Cathedral (d. 1437), 378, 382
 Priest (?) purifying altar, 364
 Princeton University, The Art
 Museum, 186
 Princeton University Library, 284
 Prophet, 2, 118, 128, 134, 232, 254
 Prophet Jeremiah, 136
 Provence, 58, 120
 Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode
 Island School of Design, 7, 60, 62
 Psalter, 4, 40, 168, 170, 172, 196,
 198, 201, 254, 365
 Psalter at Boulogne, 22
 Psalter and Hours of Yolande of
 Soissons, 168, 198, 201
 Psalter of Queen Ingeborg, *see:*
 Chantilly
 pseudo-Bonaventura, 3, 264, 368
 pseudo-Byzantine style, 126, 130
 Pucelle, Jean, 192, 196, 198, 214, 220,
 222, 236, 250, 274, 381
 Puerta de las Platerías at Santiago de
 Compostela, 54
- Queen Medusa Enthroned, 302
 Quoniām, Pierre, xii
- "Rabula" Gospels, 50
 Randall, Mr. and Mrs. L. V., *see:*
 Montreal
 Randall, Lilian M. C., 170, 198, 365
 Randall, Richard H., xii, 366
 Raoul de Presles, 276
 Rashdall, Hastings, 92
 Ratisbon, 50
 Regensburg, 22
 Regnault, Guillaume, 332
 Reichenau, 22, 50
 Reims, 2, 3, 16, 18, 138, 206
 Cathedral, 86
- Angels, 180, 186, 210
 Portal of Saint-Sixte, 138
 Treasury, Chalice of St. Remi,
 174
 Dépôt lapidaire de la Cathédrale,
 138
 Rejection of Joachim's Sacrifice, 288
 relic cult, 160
 Reliquaries of Saint Columbe, 28
 Renaissance, 341, 344
 Resurrection, 172, 192, 199, 222
 Rey, Raymond, 160
 Rheinach, Solomon, 371
 Rhétoriqueurs, 336
 Richard, the Lion Hearted, 104
 Risen Christ, 364
 Robert of Geneva, the antipope
 Clement VII (d. 1394), 373
 rock crystal crozier head, 154, 176
 Rodez, Cathederal, Vigouroux Chapel,
 Annunciation Group, 316
 Rogers, Meyric R., 294
 Rogier de Gaignières (1642–1715),
 374
 Rohan atelier, 282
 Rohan Hours, 282, 284
 Rohan Master, 3, 4, 224, 268, 282,
 284
 Rolin, Chancellor, 6, 298
Roman de la Rose, 206, 320
Romance of Huon de Bourdeaux,
 206
 Rome, 54, 164
 Basilica of Saint Peter, 126
 San Paolo Fuori, Bible of San
 Callisto, 16
 Roquepertus, 84
 Rorimer, James J., xii, 6, 10, 94,
 190, 367
 Ross, Marvin C., 5, 72, 312
 Rossano, Cathedral Treasury,
 Gospels, 50
 Rouen, 30, 178, 248, 290
 Cathedral, Jubé, 248
 Cathedral Treasury, Châsse of
 Saint-Romain, 170
 Musée Le-Secq-des-Tournelles,
 248
 Musée des Antiquités de la
 Seine-Inférieure, 1, 2, 188, 248,
 290
 Treasury of the Cathedral of
 Notre-Dame, 178
 Rouergue, 38
 Rouvres-en-Plains, 258
 Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis, 72, 256
 Royal Portal at Chartres, 94
 Royaumont, gisants of Blanche and
 Jean de France, 162

- Royaumont, Tomb of Saint Louis (d. 1270), 202
- Rupert of Deutz, 68
- Sacramentary, 4, 5, 30, 50, 88, 90, 104, 105, 108, 170
- Sacramentary of Saint Etienne at Limoges, 104, 105
- Saint Aignan-sur-Cher, 5, 352
- Saint Amand, 32, 88
- Saint Andrew, 120
- Saint Anne, 262, 322
- Saint Anthony, 270, 298
- Saint Augustine, 276
- Saint Babolin, 36
- Saint Baudime, 110
- Saint Bénigne, 2, 5, 6, 76, 294
- Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire, marble Virgin and Child, 370
- Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, 60, 92
- Saint-Bertin, 22, 36
- cross, 96, 356
- Saint Bishop with a Donor from Toulouse, panel painting in the Cleveland Museum, 373
- Saint Bonnet-Avalouze, 46
- Saint Bruno, 270
- Saint Catherine, 270, 274
- Saint Christopher, 2, 190, 228, 294, 296
- Saint Christopher, from Saint Louis Museum, 304
- Saint-Denis, 2, 5, 6, 70, 72, 78, 80, 94, 162, 357, 371
- cloister of, 74
- façade of Royal Abbey, 72
- Great Cross of Abbot Suger, 108, 254, 356, 357
- Head from Walters Art Gallery, 76
- "Porte des Valois," 98, 118, 357
- tomb sculptures, 210
- Treasury of the Royal Abbey, 70
- Ste. Colombe-lès-Sens, 92
- Saint Eloi, 3, 6, 324, 336, 342
- tapestry, 336, 342
- Saint Etienne de Muret, 104, 150
- Saint Fiacre, 324
- Saint Foy, 46
- Saint George, 142
- Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 98
- Saint-Gilles, Abbey Church, 120
- Church of Saint Martin, 120
- Musée de la maison romane, 120
- Saint Gondulphe, Châsse, 96
- Saint Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, 60
- Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert, a
- comparison, 120
- Saint Henry, 6, 32
- Saint-Jean-au-Marché, Church, Visitation group sculpture, 328
- Saint-Jean-d'Aulps, église paroissiale, 5, 318
- Saint Jerome, 170, 270
- Saint John the Baptist, 242, 270
- Saint John the Evangelist, 120, 156, 296
- Saint-Julien-aux-Bois, Chapel of Saint Pierre-ès-Liens, 96, 100
- Saint Lazarus at Autun, 64, 352
- Saint Louis, 174, 199, 202, 322, 374
- Saint Louis (Missouri), City Art Museum, 2, 294, 296, 304
- Saint Luke, 2, 34
- Saint Loup, 28
- Saint Margaret, 316
- Saint Martial, 150
- Saint Martin at Vic, frescoes, 116
- Saint Mary Magdalene in the Musée des Augustins in Toulouse, 316
- Saint Michael, 154, 290
- Saint Nectaire, Reliquary Bust of Saint Baudime, 110
- Saint Omer, 22, 26, 36, 60
- Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Bertin, 5, 22
- manuscript, 116
- Musée Hôtel Sandelin, 26
- Musée municipal, 5, 96, 98, 108, 320, 376
- Saint Paul, 120, 148, 156, 160, 270, 367
- Saint-Pavace, église, 326
- Angel Reliquary, 328
- Saint Peter, 60, 62, 105, 114, 152, 160, 322
- Saint Pierre de Lisieux, sarcophagus, 118
- Saint Pulchérie, 152
- Saint Romain, 178
- Saint-Ruf of Avignon, 58
- Saint "Savinien," 156
- Saint-Savin-sur-Gartemp, frescoes, 116
- Saint Sernin, Toulouse, 54
- Saint Stephen, 108, 156
- Saint-Sulpice-les-Feuilles, église, 110
- Saint Theodore, 142
- Saint Thomas Becket, 92, 116
- Saint-Trophime, Arles, 68, 120
- Saint Veranus, Bishop of Cavaillon, 300
- Sainte-Félicule, 5, 318
- Saisselin, Rémy G., xii, 336
- Salet, Francis, xii
- Salisbury Breviary, 381
- Salzburg, 50
- Samson, 58
- Sandoz, M., 28
- Saragossa, Cathedral of La Seo, tapestry, 266
- Saudemont, altar angels, 186
- Sauerländer, Willibald, 5, 76, 98, 118, 124, 142, 357
- Saul, 108
- Scene of a Romance, 382
- Schapiro, Meyer, 30, 56
- Schiedlausky, Günther, 250
- Schilling, Rosy, 378
- Schnitzler, Hermann, 14
- Seattle Art Museum, 206
- Seligman, Germain, *see: New York Senlis*, 2, 90, 128, 357
- Cathedral, 98, 118, 128, 156
- Church of Saint Rieul, 128
- Musée de Haubergier, 128
- Sens, 46, 142, 156, 357
- Dépôt des Monuments historiques, 156
- Shakespeare, William, 256
- Shepherd, Dorothy, 6, 336, 342
- Ship of Fools*, 320
- Siege of the Castle of Love, 206, 208
- Siennese painting, 201, 242, 266
- Sign of the Lion and the Ram, 2, 6, 54, 112
- Signs of the Zodiac, 168
- Silver cross, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 82
- silverpoint, 308
- Simeonsreliquiar at Aachen, 192
- Sluter, Claus, 4, 238, 250, 254, 256, 258, 294, 310, 322, 367, 370
- Smith, Molly Teasdale, 222
- Soissons, 140, 344
- Cathedral, 140
- Cathédrale Saint-Gervaise-et-Saint-Protais, 344
- Soltykoff, 100
- Souchal, François, 318
- Souchal, Geneviève F., 104, 105, 150
- Souillac, 118
- trumeau sculpture of Isaiah, 42, 381
- Soulac, 68
- Souvigny, 310
- Souvigny, Tombs of Charles I of Bourbon and Agnes of Burgundy, 310
- Spain, 6, 7, 162
- Compostella, S. Pelayo, 250
- Huesca convent of Santa Clara, 162
- Spanish textiles, 28
- Spencer collection, 266, 302
- Spencer, Eleanor P., 302, 381
- Spencer Officium, 224, 226
- Spitzer, Frederick, Collection, xi, 105, 150
- Sponsus play, 56
- stained glass, 136, 156, 232, 254, 262
- panels showing prophets at Bourges, 254
- Stechow, Wolfgang, 242
- Steinräuber, Erich, 368
- Sterling, Charles, 238, 308, 374
- Stoclet, Adolphe, collection, gilt-bronze crucifix, 82
- stone prophets, 254
- Strasbourg, 2, 134, 136, 144
- Cathedral, 134, 138, 158
- Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame, 134, 138
- Saint-Pierre-le-Jeune, 158
- Stroganoff, 152
- Suckling Christ Child, 188
- Suger, Abbot, 70, 72, 357
- Swarzenski, Georg, 133
- Swarzenski, Hanns, 16, 26, 42, 86, 100, 158, 356
- Synagogia*, 134, 144
- salle capitulaire of Saint-Georges de Boscherville, 90
- Table Fountain, xi, 250, 376
- tapestry, 2, 3, 6, 8, 266, 298, 324, 336–9, 342, 378, 382
- Taralon, Jean, 178
- textiles, Iranian, 28
- textiles, Spanish, 28
- The Hague, *see: Hague*
- Thibaut III, Count of Champagne, 96
- Thibault V de Champagne, 202
- Thoby, Paul, 100, 105
- Thomas, Marcel, xii
- Thompson, Henry Yates, 172
- Three Marys at the Empty Tomb, 14, 172
- Time, 336
- Tissendier, Jean, Bishop of Rieux (1324–1348), 190, 228
- Toledo Museum of Art, 214, 246, 328
- Tomb of John, Duke of Berry in the Sainte-Chapelle at Bourges, 304
- Tomb of John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, 304
- Tomb of François II of Brittany and Marguerite de Foix, 326
- Tomb of the Heart of Thibault V de Champagne (d. 1270), from the Dominican Church at Provins, 202
- Tomb of Philibert de Savoie, 304
- Tomb of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, 256
- Tomb of Saint Louis (d. 1270), from the Abbey of Royaumont, 202
- Tonnere, Hospital, sculpture of the Holy Sepulcher, 294

- Toulouse, 2, 7, 54, 56, 112, 190, 228
 Abbey of La Daurade, 112
 Chapel of Rieux, see Toulouse,
 Church of the Cordeliers
 Church of the Cordeliers, Chapel
 of Rieux, 190, 228, 367
 Virgin, 316
 Church of Notre-Dame de la
 Daurade, 58, 68, 160
 Church of Taur, 190
 Cloister of the Cathedral of
 Saint Etienne, 56
 Convent of the Grands-Carmes, 367
 Dominican Church of the Jacobins,
 224
 manuscript, 116
 Musée des Augustins, 2, 6, 54,
 56, 112
 Notre-Dame de Grasse, 190
 Saint Mary Magdalene, 316
 Saint Sernin, 54, 160
 Touraine, 296, 300, 308, 332
 Tournai, Cathedral, 382
 Treasury of the Cathedral, Châsse
 of Notre-Dame, 174
 Tours, Bibliothèque municipale,
 MS. 558: Gratian Decretals, 196
 Translucent enamel, 6, 174, 192,
 250, 252
 Treaty of Bretigny, 218
 Tree of Life, 56, 96, 100, 164
- Très Riches Heures, *see: Chantilly*
Trial of Jesus, 376
 Trier, 22
 Trinity, 196, 236, 262
 Tristan and Iseult, 208
 Trojan War, 320
 Troyes, 96
 Church of Saint Mary Magdalene,
 Saint Martha sculpture, 328
 Convent of the Ursulines, 328
 Hôtel-Dieu, Virgin and Child
 sculpture, 328
 Psalter, 42
 Trésor de la Cathédrale, 18, 42,
 64, 96
 MS. 12: Psalter, 3, 254
 trumeau figures, 212
 trumpet, 170
 unicorn, 208
 Utrecht, University Library, Cod.32:
 Psalter, 16, 18, 22, 30
- Valentiner, William R., 258
 Valley of the Loire, *see: Loire Valley*
 Valley of the Meuse, *see: Mosan*
 Valois, 242
 van Luttervelt, R., 242
 Vanuxem, Jacques, 90
 Vatican Library, MS. Gr. 699, 46
 Venice, Treasury of Saint Mark's, 70
 Verdier, Philippe, 246, 252, 258
 Verdun, Musée de la Princerie, 6, 32
 Verlet, Pierre, xii
- Vézelay, 2, 66, 352
 Musée lapidaire de l'église de la
 Madeleine, Capital, 66
 Viane family, 172
Vièrge-Custode, 150
Vièrge dorée, 182, 184, 194
 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum,
 four-part folding enamel altarpiece,
 192
 Vigils of the Dead, 274
 Vigouroux Chapel in the Cathedral
 of Rodez, 316
 Villard d'Honnecourt, 144, 146,
 164, 340
 Villy-le-Maréchal, Church, Virgin
 and Child sculpture, 328
 Viollet-le-Duc, 94
 Virgin and Child sculptures, regional
 groupings, 370
 Virgin from the Cottreau collection,
 230
 Virtues and Vices, 288
 Visconti, 218
 Visitation, 202, 280, 385
 Vitry, Paul, 180
 Vöge, Wilhelm, 112, 118
- Walker, John, xii
 walrus ivory, 5, 26
 Walters, Henry, 86
 Walters' Sacramentary, 88, 90, 104
- Washington, D. C., National Gallery
 of Art, Chalice of Abbot Suger of
 Saint-Denis, 2, 70
 painting by Master of Saint Giles,
 124
 Weinberger, Martin, 6, 142, 310
 Well of Moses, 250, 254, 256, 258,
 376
 Wentzel, Hans, 322
 Werve, Claus de, 256
 Wescher, Paul, 300
 Wildenstein Foundation, Inc., *see:*
 New York
 Winchester, 22, 92
 Winged Stags, tapestry, 290
 Winkler, Friedrich, 242, 379
 Wise and Foolish Virgins, 56
 Worcester Art Museum, 353
- Yolande of Anjou, 282, 379
 Yolande of Aragon, *see: Yolande*
 of Anjou
 Yolande, Vicomtesse of Soissons,
 168
 Youth, 336
 Ypres, 242, 274
- Zarephath, 96
 Zarnecki, George, 64, 352
 Zebo da Firenze, 264, 268, 288, 379

PHOTOGRAPH CREDITS

- Hélène Adant (Paris)
III-35
- Ghislain Arens (Cluny)
III-9
- Arts et Métiers Graphiques (Paris)
III-3,7; VI-33
- Belzeaux-Zodiaque (La Pierre-qui-vire)
III-1,3; II-10
- Bildarchiv Foto Marburg
III-4,34
- Robert Boulhaut (Verdun)
II-6
- Barney Burstein (Boston)
VI-31,34
- Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques (Paris)
I-2; II-8; III-11,16,26,33,38; IV-10,11,12,18,21,23,
24,25; V-5,8; VI-9,13,36; VII-3,13,16,17,27
- J. Delherce (Saint-Omer)
II-2; VII-14
- Durante (Tulle)
III-28
- Ellebe (Rouen)
V-10; VI-17
- J. Evers (Angers)
III-19
- Franceschi
III-29
- Giraudon (Paris)
IV-3,16; V-5,7; VI-5,11,29,36; VII-26
- A. Kilbertus (Montreal)
II-7
- Raymond Laniepce (Paris)
I-4; II-6; III-2,30,37; IV-15,19,21
- Serge Martin (Orléans)
VII-10
- Studio de Nussac (Guéret)
III-32
- Service de Documentation Photographique des Musées
Nationaux (Versailles)
II-4; III-17,23; IV-2,12; V-21
- Editions d'Art Albert Skira (Geneva)
VI-26
- Emanuel Sougez (Paris)
III-5,20

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